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战国策

RECORDS ON THE
WARRING STATES PERIOD

II



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战国策

Records on the Warring States Period
II



翟江月 英译、今译

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卷十二 齐 五

苏秦说齐闵王

【原文】

苏秦说齐闵王曰：“臣闻用兵而喜先天下者忧，约结而喜主怨者孤。夫后起者藉也，而远怨者时也。是以圣人从事，必藉于权而务兴于时。夫权藉者，万物之率也；而时势者，百事之长也。故无权藉、倍时势而能事成者，寡矣！”

“今虽干将、莫邪，非得人力，则不能割剡矣；坚箭利金，不得弦机之利，则不能远杀矣。矢非不铍而剑非不利也，何则？权藉不在焉。何以

【今译】

苏秦游说齐闵王说：“我听说喜欢抢在各国前面起兵进攻别国的，就会有忧患；喜欢联合盟国进攻别国从而为自己树敌的，就会被孤立。后发制人的会有所凭借，远离怨恨的能够把握时机。所以圣人做事情，一定会借助于权变，而且努力抓住有利时机行事。借助于权变，就能成为万物的统帅；抓住有利时机，就能成为各项事业的主宰。所以如果不借助于权变，与时势相背离，却能完成自己的事业的太少了。

“即便有干将、莫邪，如果不借助于人力，就不能割断或刺伤东西。即使有坚固的箭杆和锋利的箭头，如果没有弓弦和机弩的帮助，就不能杀伤远处的目标。箭头并非不锐利，宝剑并非不锋利，却为什么不能击中目标呢？是因为所凭借的东西不存在的缘故。怎么知道是这样的



Book 12

The Fifth Volume on Qi

Su Qin Had a Talk with King Min of Qi

Su Qin had a talk with King Min of the state of Qi and said, "I heard that if a sovereign likes taking the lead attacking other states, he will be in trouble. If a sovereign is engaged in uniting with his allies to attack other states, he will be isolated. Those who win by striking only after the enemy strikes can resort to something else. Those who are able to keep themselves out of trouble can make good use of every opportunity. Hence, when sages embark upon undertakings, they always resort to temporary measures and take action at the right time. By resorting to temporary measures, they can manipulate tens of thousands of things. By taking action at the right time, they can become rulers of hundreds of undertakings. Hence, few can succeed if they neither resort to temporary measures nor make good use of opportunities!

"Without human power, Gan Jiang and Mo Ye (referring to the two most famous swords) cannot hurt any target alone. Without the help of string and bow, the sharpest arrow with the firmest shaft cannot hit any distant target. It is not that the arrow is blunt and the sword is not sharp. What is the reason then? Well, they cannot resort to other elements crucial to them. How do I know this? Previously,

【原文】

知其然也？昔者，赵氏袭卫，车[不]舍，人不休，(传)[傳]卫国，城(割)[刚]平。卫八门土而二门堕矣，此亡国之形也。卫君跣行告邲于魏，魏王身被甲底剑，挑赵索战。邯鄲之中弩，河、山之间乱。卫得是藉也，亦收余甲而北面，残刚平，堕中牟之郭。卫非强于赵也，譬之卫矢而魏弦机也，藉力魏而有河东之地。赵氏惧，楚人救赵而伐魏，战于州西，出梁门，军舍林中，马饮于大河。赵得是藉也，亦袭魏之河北，烧棘沟，坠黄城。故刚平之残也，中牟之堕也，黄城之坠也，棘沟之烧也，此皆非赵、

【今译】

呢？从前赵国军队进攻卫国，兵车前进不止，士卒不得休息，逼近卫国，割取刚平，卫国都城有八个城门被堵塞，两个城门被攻破，这是亡国的形势啊。卫国国君赤脚到魏国告急。魏王亲自身披铠甲、磨砺宝剑，向赵国挑战。邯鄲城中一片混乱，黄河与太行山一带动荡不安。卫国得到这个有利条件，也召集起残兵向北袭击赵国，攻克刚平，摧毁中牟的外城。并非卫国比赵国强大，如果把卫国比喻成箭，那魏国就是弓弦和机弩，卫国凭借着魏国的力量才能拥有河东地区。赵国军队恐惧了，楚国军队营救赵国并且进攻魏国，在州城以西交战，堵塞了梁都的大门，把军队驻扎在林中，在黄河中饮马。赵国得到这个机会，也袭击魏国黄河以北地区，焚烧棘沟，攻陷黄城。所以，刚平被摧毁，中牟被攻





the troops of the state of Zhao invaded the state of Wei I. Their chariots advanced without any stop, and their soldiers marched without any rest. They approached the state of Wei and occupied Gangping. They blocked eight gates of Wei's capital and broke two. The state of Wei I was on the brink of defeat! Not having time to put on his shoes, the sovereign of Wei I went barefoot to the state of Wei II to ask for help. The king of the state of Wei II put on his armour, sharpened his sword and then confronted the troops of the state of Zhao. The capital of Handan was in chaos. The areas along the Yellow River and Mount Taihang were in anarchy. The state of Wei I took occasion to summon the remnants of its defeated army to march towards the north (referring to invading the state of Zhao which was located north of Wei I). They breached Gangping and destroyed the protective wall of the city of Zhongmou. It is not that the state of Wei I was much stronger than the state of Zhao. If Wei I is the arrow, Wei II will be the string and the bow. Using the great power of Wei II, Wei I seized the area of Hedong. The people of in the state of Zhao were scared. The troops of the state of Chu came to Zhao's rescue. They attacked the troops of Wei II at a place west of the city of Zhoucheng. They blocked the gate of the capital of Liang of Wei II, stationed their soldiers in Linzhong and let their horses drink in the Yellow River. The troops of the state of Zhao took occasion to invade the areas north of the Yellow River in Wei II. They set fire to Jigou and conquered the city of Huangcheng. Accidents such as the destruction of Gangping,



【原文】

魏之欲也。然二国劝行之者，何也？卫明于时权之藉也。今世之为国者不然矣！兵弱而好敌强，国罢而好众怨，事败而好鞠之，兵弱而憎下人（也），地狭而好敌大，事败而好长诈。行此六者而求伯，则远矣！

“臣闻善为国者，顺民之意而料兵之能，然后从于天下。故约不為人主怨，伐不為人挫强。如此，则兵不费，权不轻，地可广，欲可成也。昔者，齐之与韩、魏伐秦、楚也，战非甚疾也，分地又非多韩、魏也，然而

【今译】

克，黄城被攻陷，棘沟被焚烧，这都不是赵国和魏国所情愿的，然而这两个国家却不能制止敌国这么做，为什么？是卫国善于抓住时机并且能够凭借有利条件的缘故。如今世上统治国家的人却不是这样的，自己兵力薄弱却喜欢进攻强大的敌人，自己的国家疲弊却喜欢结怨，事情明明会失败却还要坚持下去，兵力薄弱却耻于居于人之下，国土狭小却喜欢与大国为敌，事情失败后就多行欺诈。有以上六个方面的行为却还想争霸，那也差得太远了。

“我听说，善于治理国家的人顺应民心而且正确估计自己的军事力量，然后跟随天下各国行事。所以，即使跟别国结盟也不会招致怨恨，发动进攻也不会以牺牲自己的力量来为别国挫败强敌。如果是这样，自己的兵力就不会被耗费，自己的权势就不会被削减，可以扩大自己的国土，实现自己的愿望。从前，齐国跟韩国和魏国一起进攻秦国和楚



the devastation of Zhongmou, the demolition of Huangcheng and the fire in Jigou were against the wishes of the states of Zhao and Wei II. But these two states couldn't prevent them from taking place. Why? Because Wei I was good at grasping opportunities and making good use of advantageous situations. However, contemporary sovereigns are not the same! They plan to attack powerful states, although their own military forces are weak. They like to be at enmity with other states, although the people of their own states are exhausted. They will persist even though their undertakings will definitely result in failure. They hate to lag behind others even though their armies are feeble. They aim at invading big states, although their own states are small. They will also resort to trickery after their actions result in failure. Having these actions, they still want to establish the most powerful states in the world and become Lord-protectors themselves. The more they exert themselves, the more unattainable this goal is!

"I heard that a sovereign good at governing his state will comply with the will of the people and also correctly estimate the power of his own military forces. Instead of taking the lead himself, he would rather follow other states before he takes any action. Hence, although he might build up alliances with other states, he won't provoke enmity. Although he might attack other states, he won't rush to fight formidable enemies to benefit his rivals. Thus, without causing any loss to his own troops or posing any threat to his own power, his territory can be enlarged and his wishes can be fulfilled. Once



【原文】

天下独归咎于齐者，何也？以其为韩、魏主怨也。且天下遍用兵矣，齐、燕战，而赵氏兼中山；秦、楚战韩、魏不休，而宋、越专用其兵。此十国者，皆以相敌为意，而独举心于齐者，何也？约而好主怨，伐而好挫强也。

“且夫强大之祸，常以王人为意也；夫弱小之殃，常以谋人为利也。是以大国危，小国灭也。大国之计，莫若后起而重伐不义。夫后起之藉与多而兵劲，则事以众强适罢寡也，兵必立也。事不塞天下之心，则利

【今译】

国，在作战中并没有出太大的力，瓜分到的土地也不比韩国和魏国多，然而天下各国都归咎于齐国，什么原因呢？因为它为了韩国和魏国而给自己树敌。再说天下各国都在用兵打仗，齐国和燕国交战的时候，赵国趁机兼并了中山；秦国和楚国跟韩国和魏国无休止地作战，宋国和越国趁机起兵。这十个国家，互相之间都怀有敌意，却唯独对齐国耿耿于怀，为什么？因为齐国喜欢结交盟国从而树敌，喜欢攻伐，替人挫伤强敌。

“再说强大的国家的灾祸在于心里经常想着统治别人，弱小的国家的祸患在于经常图谋别人为自己谋利。因此大的国家会陷入危机，小的国家会被消灭。为大国着想，不如跟在别国后面起兵，而且不要急于痛伐不义的国君。如果跟在别国后面起兵，就能争取到更多的盟国，兵力就会更加强大，就会用众多的强大兵力来对付疲惫的为数不多的敌



the troops of the state of Qi joined those of the states of Han and Wei in invading the states of Qin and Chu. They didn't fight extremely fiercely during those battles, nor did Qi obtain a larger share of territory than Han and Wei did. However, people in the world blamed the state of Qi. Why? Because Qi incurred enmity for the sake of Han and Wei. In addition, at that time, all the states in the world were involved in warfare. When the troops of the state of Qi engaged those of the state of Yan, the troops of the state of Zhao annexed Zhongshan. When the allied forces built up by the states of Qin and Han engaged those of Han and Wei, the states of Song and Yue took advantage of this war to strengthen their military forces. These aforementioned ten states were hostile towards each other. But they were all dissatisfied with the state of Qi. Why? Because the state of Qi liked to build up alliances and thus be at enmity with other states. It also took the lead in attacking powerful states and thus benefiting its rivals.

"Moreover, the problem of those big and strong states lies in their intention to take control of other states. The disaster for those weak and small states lies in the fact that they often take advantage of others to benefit themselves. As a result, the big states will be in danger, and the small ones will be defeated. For big states, the most advantageous thing is to follow other states in taking action and not to attack unrighteous sovereigns hurriedly. By following other states in taking action, they can win over the support of more allied states and build up more powerful allied forces. By



【原文】

必附矣。大国行此，则名号不攘而至，伯王不为而立矣。小国之情，莫如（仅）[谨]静而寡信诸侯。（仅）[谨]静，则四邻不反；寡信诸侯，则天下不卖。外不卖，内不反，则槟祸朽腐而不用，币帛矫蠹而不服矣。小国道此，则不祠而福矣，不贷而见足矣。

“故曰：‘祖仁者王，立义者伯，用兵穷者亡。’何以知其然也？昔吴王夫差以强大为天下先，（强）袭郢而栖越，身从诸侯之君，而卒身死国

【今译】

军，就必定能确立威名。行事不违背天下人的心意，就会获得利益。大国这么做了，不用争取，美名也会自行到来；不必做什么，也能立为王或者霸主。为小的国家考虑，不如谨慎冷静，而且不轻信别的国家。谨慎冷静，四方邻近的国家就不来侵犯；不轻易相信别国，就不会被天下人出卖。在外不被出卖，在内不被侵犯，那积蓄的粮食一直等到腐烂了也用不上，丝绸一直等到被虫蛀蚀了也穿不上。小的国家这么做，即便不举行祭祀也会有福气，不用借贷也衣食丰足。

“所以说：‘取法于仁的能称王，力行义的能称霸，穷兵黩武的会灭亡。’怎么知道是这样的呢？从前，吴王夫差凭借自己国家的强大，带头袭击郢都，并且把越王扣押起来。他使别国的君主都服从自己，然而最



commanding overwhelmingly powerful military forces to fight exhausted enemy troops, they can certainly gain victory. By not acting against the will of the people of the world, benefit can be gained. If a big state acts this way, it will gain a high reputation without endeavour. It can unify the whole world or at least establish one of the most powerful states without taking any action. For those small states, nothing could be better than remaining cautious and inactive and not naively trusting other states. By remaining cautious and inactive, they won't suffer aggressions launched by neighbouring states on all four sides. By not trusting other states, they won't be betrayed by people in the world. They not being betrayed by people in the outside world and being free from any aggression, the grain stored won't be consumed and therefore will become rotten, and the silk fabrics stored won't be used and therefore will be eaten by moths. If a small state acts this way, it will have good fortune without holding any ceremonies to worship gods or deities. It will become wealthy enough and therefore no longer need to borrow from other states.

"So it is said, 'Whoever adheres to the principle of benevolence can unify the whole world. Whoever practices the principle of righteousness can establish one of the most powerful states. Whoever resorts to nothing but military forces will be toppled.' How do I know this? Well, previously, Fu Chai, the king of the state of Wu, liked to take the lead because of the might of his state. He invaded the capital of Ying of the state of Chu, imprisoned the king of the



【原文】

亡为天下戮者，何也？此夫差平居而谋王，强大而喜先天下之祸也。昔者，莱、莒好谋，陈、蔡好诈，莒恃越而灭，蔡信晋而亡。此皆内长诈、外信诸侯之殃也。由此观之，则强弱大小之祸，可见于前事矣。

“语曰：‘骐驎之衰也，弩马先之；孟贲之倦也，女子胜之。’夫弩马、女子，筋骨力劲，非贤于骐驎、孟贲也，何则？后起之藉也。今天下之相与也不并灭，有而案兵而后起，寄怨而诛不直，微用兵而寄于义，则亡天下可跼足而须也。明于诸侯之故，察于地形之理者，不约亲，不相质而

【今译】

终却自己丧命、国家灭亡并且被天下人羞辱，什么原因呢？这就是夫差好居人上，图谋统一天下，追求强大而且喜欢为天下先所导致的灾祸。从前，莱国和莒国喜欢图谋别国，陈国和蔡国喜欢运用诈术。莒国因为倚仗越国而灭亡，蔡国因为轻信晋国而沦丧。这都是对内擅长运用诈术、在外轻信别国所导致的祸患。由此看来，大国和小国的灾祸从前面的事例中可以看出。

“有句话说：‘骐驎筋疲力尽的时候，劣马也能超过它；孟贲精疲力竭的时候，女人也能战胜他。’劣马和女人的筋骨和力气并非超过骐驎与孟贲，为什么能胜出呢？因为它（她）们后发制人。如今天下结盟的国家并非都灭亡了，有的按兵不动，后发制人，把怨恨转嫁出去，并且诛杀不正直的国君，隐秘地用兵，并且赋予自己的军事行动以正义的名声，那灭亡天下各国就可以举足而待了。明白了诸侯之间的关系，明察



state of Yue, and forced other states' sovereigns to submit to him. But finally he was killed, his state was ruined and he himself was derided by the people of the world. Why? This disaster occurred because Fu Chai not only always put himself ahead of others by committing to unifying the world and becoming King, but also longed for more power and intended to take the lead in invading other states. Previously, the states of Lai and Ju liked to scheme against other states. The states of Chen and Cai liked to use trickery. Relying on the state of Yue, the state of Ju was ruined. The destruction of the state of Cai was due to naively trusting the state of Jin. These disasters occurred because these two states either resorted to trickery to govern the people or overly trusted other states! With the help of these aforementioned cases, we can understand the disasters of both the big states and the small ones.

"There is a saying: 'When Qi Ji becomes tired, an ordinary horse can outrun it. When Meng Ben becomes exhausted, a woman can defeat him.' The sinews and strength of the ordinary horse and the woman cannot match those of Qi Ji and Meng Ben. So why can they win? Because they take action after their rivals. Nowadays, not all the allied states have been destroyed. Some don't throw their armies into battles until the very end. They shift enmity to other states and focus on attacking unrighteous sovereigns at the same time. They take military action secretly and in the name of righteousness. Thus it won't take long for them to ruin other states all over the world. Knowing the relationship



【原文】

固，不趋而疾，众事而不反，交割而不相憎，俱强而加以亲，何则？形同忧而兵趋利也。何以知其然也？昔者，齐、燕战于桓之曲，燕不胜，十万之众尽。胡人袭燕楼烦数县，取其牛马。夫胡之与齐，非素亲也，而用兵又非约质而谋燕也，然而甚于相趋者，何也？（何则）形同忧而兵趋利也。由此观之，约于同形则利长，后起则诸侯可趋役也。

“故明主察相，诚欲以伯王（也）为志，则战攻非所先。战者，国之残

【今译】

了地理形势，不用互相结亲，不需互相交换人质，跟别国的关系就会很牢固，不用奔跑就能快速前进，各国在有战事的时候也不会背叛你，争相割让土地而不憎恨你，强国之间都互相亲善。为什么？因为它们之间有共同的忧患，而且用兵都是为了追逐利益。怎么知道是这样的呢？从前，齐国和燕国在桓交战，燕国军队不能取胜，十万大军丧失殆尽。胡人侵占了燕国楼烦地区的几个县，夺走了那里的牛马。胡人和齐国并没有亲缘关系，而且他们用兵也并非通过交换人质、订立盟约来谋取燕，然而却共同奔赴同一目标，为什么？因为它们有共同的忧患而且用兵能追逐利益。由此看来，在同一形势逼迫下订立盟约就能争取到更大的利益，后发制人就可以驱使诸侯。

“所以英明的君主、明察的相国若果真把成就王霸大业作为自己的目标的话，就不会把战功放在第一位。战争会破坏国家，会耗费都县的



among all the states and being familiar with the geographical conditions of other states, they will become close to other states before signing any agreements and therefore good relations will be established without both sides exchanging hostages. Without running in a hurry, they can march forward quickly. Their allies won't betray them under any circumstances. These allied states will also vie with each other to cede territory to them without bearing them a grudge. The powerful states will become closer to each other. Why? Because they share the same problems and can benefit from military action. How do I know this? Once the troops of the state of Qi engaged those of the state of Yan in Quan. The troops of Yan were defeated and one hundred thousand soldiers lost their lives in the war. The Hu people invaded the state of Yan and occupied several counties in the area of Loufan. They also seized cows and horses belonging to the local people. The Hu people and the people of the state of Qi were not kinsfolk, nor did they exchange hostages and make an agreement to scheme together against the state of Yan. But they did take the same action. Why? Because they shared the same problems and could benefit from their military actions. From this point of view, the states forced to build alliance with each other in the same situation can enjoy long-term benefit together. Those taking action at the very end can manipulate other states' sovereigns.

"So, if wise sovereigns and shrewd prime ministers are really committed to unifying the whole world or establishing one of the most powerful states, they won't attach primary

【原文】

也，而都县之费也。残费已先而能从诸侯者，寡矣。彼战者之为残也，士闻战则输私财而富军市，输饮食而待死士，令折辕而炊之，杀牛而飭士，则是路君之道也。中人祷祝，君鬻酿，通都小县置社，有市之邑莫不止事而奉王，则此虚中之计也。夫战之明日，尸死扶伤，虽若有功也，军出费，中哭泣，则伤主心矣。死者破家而葬，夷伤者空财而共药，完者内

【今译】

财富，破坏和耗费已经先发生了而还能够让其他国家服从自己的太少了。战争带来的破坏是：士人们听说要有战事，就会把私人财物输送到军需市场上出售，提供饮食来招待敢死的勇士，下令砍断车辕生火，杀牛来犒劳士卒，这就是使国家疲弊的做法啊。国内的人为即将出征的士卒祈祷祝愿，君主为他们举办祷告仪式，所有的城邑和小县城都设置了庙宇，设有市肆的城邑没有不放弃手头的事业来响应君主的战事的，这就是导致国内空虚的计策啊。开战的第二天，出现大规模伤亡，即便有战功，军队也会耗费大量钱财，国内的人痛哭流涕，君主就会非常伤心。死者的家人倾家荡产来办理丧事，受伤者的家人花费全部钱财来置办药物，没有受任何伤的人豪饮并且奢侈享乐，所以他们的花费跟死





importance to military victories. Warfare either leads to the devastation of a state or costs those cities and towns involved a huge amount of money. If the devastation and high expenditure occur, it will be hard to make other states' sovereigns submit. As to the devastation of war, when scholars realize that there will be a war, they will transport their private possessions to the market and sell them. They will provide food to the hired warriors who would not hesitate to fight to the death on behalf of their masters. They will also order people to break carriage thills to make a fire as well as kill cows to feed both officers and men. Thus the state will become short of resources. People in the state will pray for their beloved ones. The sovereign himself will hold ceremonies to worship deities and beg their blessings. All the cities and towns will set up temples. The people of every town with an established market will stop whatever undertakings they have been engaged in to support the sovereign's military action. Under this policy, the state will become impoverished. On the second day the attack is launched, severe casualties will occur. Although some achievements might be accomplished, the military action will cost a vast amount of money. People in the state will keep on crying. Therefore, the sovereign himself will feel very unhappy. In order to bury those who die on the battleground, the relatives of the dead will spend all their savings on the funerals. In order to cure those who are wounded on the fronts, the families of the wounded will use up all their money to buy medicines or pay for the treatment. Those who do not

【原文】

酺而华乐，故其费与死伤者钧。故民之所费也，十年之田而不偿也。军之所出，矛戟折，镞弦绝，伤弩，破车，罢马，亡矢之大半。甲兵之具，官之所私出也，士大夫之所匿，厮养士之所窃，十年之田而不偿也。天下有此再费（者）而能从诸侯〔者〕寡矣。攻城之费，百姓理檐蔽，举冲櫓，家杂总，身窟穴，中罢于刀金。而士困于土功，将不释甲，期数而能拔城者，为亟耳。上倦于教，士断于兵，故三下城而能胜敌者，寡矣。故曰，彼战攻者，非所先也。何以知其然也？昔智伯瑶攻范、中行氏，杀其君，

【今译】

伤者是一样的。因此人民所耗费的钱财是十年耕种的积蓄也补偿不了的。军队派出了，矛与戟折断，刀环与弓弦断裂，弓弩损坏，战车破损，战马疲惫，弓箭损失一大半。铠甲兵器等物是官府和私人供应的，被官员所藏匿的、被私自豢养武士的人所窃取的，十年耕种也补偿不了。天下的国家中，有了这双重破费还能让各国诸侯服从的，太少了。攻占城邑花费很大，老百姓修整护身的屏蔽物，制造战车，举家参军，在地道里穿梭，国内缺乏制作兵器的金属，而且士人因为修筑防御工事而疲惫不堪，将军一直穿着铠甲，能够用一年左右的时间攻克城邑就算是很迅速了。居于上位的厌倦了教习，士人被兵器所伤残，所以攻下三座城邑后还能战胜敌人的就很少了。所以说战功不应该是第一位的。怎么知道是这样的呢？从前智伯攻打范氏和中行氏，杀死他们的君主，消灭了他



suffer any wounds will lead extremely luxurious lives in celebration. Therefore, their expenditure will equal that of the former. So, war expenditure cannot be compensated by ten years' hard work in the fields. After the troops are deployed, spears and halberts will rupture, dagger rings and bow strings will break, bows will be broken, chariots will be damaged, army horses will become exhausted and more than half of the arrows will be wasted. Armour and weapons are either offered by governments of various levels or collected from some private sources. Some of these items are concealed by court or officials, some are burgled by those who train warriors in secret. Even ten years of hard work in the fields cannot compensate this loss. States in the world bearing these double expenditures can hardly make other states submit to them. Attacking enemy cities costs a huge amount of money. The people repair shields and make chariots. All family members are enrolled in the army. Officers and men dwell in tunnels. The state is short of metal for making weapons. Scholars are tired of building defence earthworks. Generals don't dare take off their armour. If an enemy city can be conquered in one year, this can be regarded as a very high speed. Superior officers become tired of training inferiors. Scholars are injured by weapons. Hence, after three cities are conquered, the attacking troops can barely defeat any enemy forces. So it is said that military victory shouldn't be regarded as of primary importance. How do I know this? Once Marquis Zhi attacked the Fans and Zhongxings. He killed the sovereigns of these two clans, destroyed their states, and



【原文】

灭其国，又西围晋阳，吞兼二国而忧一主，此用兵之盛也。然而智伯卒身死国亡为天下笑者，何谓也？兵先战攻，而灭二子患也。日者，中山悉起而迎燕、赵，南战于长子，败赵氏；北战于中山，克燕军，杀其将。夫中山，千乘之国也，而敌万乘之国二，再战（北）[比]胜，此用兵之上节也。然而国遂亡，君臣于齐者，何也？不啻于战攻之患也。由此观之，则战攻之败，可见于前事。

“今世之所谓善用兵者，终战比胜而守不可拔，天下称为善。一国得而保之，则非国之利也。臣闻战大胜者，其士多死而兵益弱；守而不

【今译】

们的国家，又向西围困了晋阳，吞并了这两个国家，并且又让赵国君主感到忧虑，这样用兵也很有成就了，然而智伯最终自己丧命、国家灭亡并且受到天下人的嘲笑，这是什么原因呢？这是他把用兵放在首位而且消灭范氏和中行氏所导致的灾祸。以前，中山国调动全部兵力进攻燕国和赵国，南面在长子开战，打败了赵国的军队；北面在中山交战，挫败了燕国的军队，杀死他们的将领。中山是一个拥有一千辆战车的国家，却进攻两个拥有一万辆战车的国家，连战连胜，这也是用兵的很高境界了。然而国家最终却灭亡了，国君向齐王称臣，为什么？是过于追求战功所导致的灾祸啊。由此看来，战功所带来的弊端可以通过上述事例显示出来。

“当今世上所谓的善于用兵，是每战必胜，而且能固守自己的城邑不被敌军攻克，天下人都说好。一个国家由此得以保全，但这却并非国家的长久利益。我听说战争中取得重大胜利的，很多士人会丧生而且



then marched towards the west and besieged Jinyang. Marquis Zhi annexed these two states and posed a severe threat to Zhao Xiangzi, the sovereign of the state of Zhao. These were great military achievements. However, eventually Marquis Zhi was killed, his state was ruined and he himself was derided by people all over the world. What was the reason for his failure? Because he regarded military victories as of primary importance, destroyed two states and thus posed a severe threat to himself. Previously, the state of Zhongshan dispatched all the troops to attack the states of Yan and Zhao. They engaged the troops of Zhao in Changzi in the south and defeated them. They confronted the troops of Yan in Zhongshan in the north, defeated them and killed their general. Zhongshan was a state with one thousand chariots. However, it defeated two states possessing ten thousand chariots each and won one battle after another. These can also be regarded as very successful military actions. However, the state of Zhongshan was ruined. Announcing himself as one of the court officials of the king of the state of Qi, Zhongshan's sovereign submitted to Qi. What's the reason? Because he couldn't stop pursuing military victories. From these examples, we can see the problems caused by successful military actions.

"At present, a person being regarded as good at tactics can win every battle as well as safeguard any city. He is praised by people all over the world. However, this is not of long-term benefit to the state. I heard that if a great victory is gained, many scholars must have lost their lives on the

【原文】

可拔者，其百姓罢而城郭露。夫士死于外，民残于内，而城郭露于境，则非王之乐也。今夫鹄的非咎罪于人也，便弓引弩而射之，中者则善，不中则愧，少长贵贱则同心于贯之者，何也？恶其示人以难也。今穷战比胜而守必不拔，则是非徒示人以难也，又且害人者也，然则天下仇之必矣。夫罢士露国而多与天下为仇，则明君不居也；素用强兵而弱之，则察相不事。彼明君察相者，则五兵不动而诸侯从，辞让而重赂至矣。故

【今译】

兵力会更加疲弱；能固守城邑不被敌军攻克的，老百姓会疲惫不堪而且城郭会被破坏。士人死于国外，国内百姓疲惫，边境城郭被破坏，那并非君主的乐事。靶心并非得罪了人，人们拉弓引弩射击它，射中的人很欢喜，射不中的感到羞愧，无论老少贵贱都齐心协力地射击它，为什么？因为讨厌它向人们展示射中自己是多么困难。如今那每战必胜而且能固守自己的城邑不被敌军攻克的，就不仅仅是向人展示对付自己是多么困难，而且又能对别人构成危害，这样天下各国一定会非常仇视它。士人疲惫、国都凋弊而频繁跟天下各国结怨，英明的君主是不会这么做的；经常动用强大的兵力而削弱自己的军事力量，明察的相国不会干这种事。那些英明的君主和明察的相国不需动用各种兵器，各国就会服从，即便推辞也会有丰厚的礼物送过来。所以英明的君主征战，自己的





battleground and military forces will become weaker. If a sovereign can safeguard cities and towns and therefore ensure that they not be seized by enemy states, the people will become exhausted and protective walls will be broken. If scholars lose their lives outside the state, the people inside the state become exhausted and protective walls are broken, no sovereign will be happy under such circumstances. It is not that bullseye has offended someone. However, people are likely to take a bow and stretch the string to shoot at it. Those who hit it are considered skillful. Those who miss it feel sorry for themselves. People are of one mind in shooting at it, whether young or old, powerless or powerful. Why? Because they hate the bullseye's way of challenging them and showing how difficult it is to hit it. The state which engages in attacking other states and is able to win every war and safeguard its own cities and towns in the meantime not only shows other states that it is very difficult for them to overrun it, but also poses a severe threat to other states. As a result, other states in the world will become very hostile towards it. A wise sovereign will never exhaust both the scholars and his state to induce enmity with other states in the world. Frequently ordering powerful armies to attack other states may well weaken the military forces. A provident prime minister will never do that. Wise sovereigns and provident prime ministers can make other states' sovereigns submit to them without taking any military action against them. They will also receive extremely generous gifts, although they may openly reject them. Hence, when a wise sovereign attacks an

【原文】

明君之攻战也，甲兵不出于军而敌国胜，冲櫓不施而边城降，士民不知而王业至矣。彼明君之从事也，用财少，旷日远，而为利长者。故曰，兵后起则诸侯可趋役也。

“臣之所闻，攻战之道非师者，虽有百万之军，（比）[北]之堂上；虽有阖闾、吴起之将，禽之户内；千丈之城，拔之尊俎之间；百尺之冲，折之衽席之上。故钟鼓筦瑟之音不绝，地可广而欲可成；和乐倡优侏儒之笑不（之）[乏]，诸侯可同日而致也。故名配天地不为尊，利制海内不为厚。故夫善为王业者，在劳天下而自佚，乱天下而自安。诸侯无成谋，

【今译】

军队还没有使用铠甲兵器作战就战胜敌国了；无需运用战车，敌人的边城就投降了；士人百姓还没有意识到，就成就统一大业了。那些英明的君主做事情，花费的钱财少，却能争取到持久的利益。所以说：‘后发制人就可以驱使诸侯。’

“我听说，高明的攻战之术不使用军队。即使有百万大军，在朝堂上运筹就能把他们打败；即使有阖闾、吴起这样的将领，在室内谋划也能把他们擒获；千丈高的城墙，宴席上谈笑之间就能把它攻下；一百尺长的战车，在座席上就能把它折断。所以钟鼓筦瑟弹奏的音乐不绝于耳，就可以扩大自己的领地、实现自己的愿望；歌舞杂技艺人不乏于前，各国诸侯就可以同时来朝拜自己。所以名声跟天地相匹配也不算是尊贵，控制海内所有的利益也算不上富有。所以善于成就王业的，在于让天下人效劳而自己闲适，让天下各国纷乱而自己安稳，别国图谋他不能





enemy state, his forces can defeat the enemy troops without wearing armour or using weapons. They can seize the border cities of the enemy state without using chariots. Thus the whole world can be unified without both scholars and common people being aware of that. Whenever a wise sovereign takes up an undertaking, it will cost less money and bring long-term benefit. So it is said, 'Strike only after the enemy has struck. Then you can issue orders to other states' sovereigns.'

"I heard that the best tactics are to attack other states without taking any military action. Although the enemy state might have one million soldiers, a wise sovereign can defeat them by planning at court. Although the enemy state might have generals as brave as He Lü and Wu Qi, a wise sovereign can have them captured by scheming in his own room. He can have a one-thousand-*zhang*-tall protective wall demolished by planning during a banquet. He can also have one-hundred-*chi*-long chariots destroyed without leaving his seat. He not stopping appreciating the music played by bell, drum, the Yu and Se pipes, his territory can be enlarged and his wishes can be fulfilled. He not ceasing entertaining himself with singers, dancers and dwarfs, other states' sovereigns will submit to him simultaneously. So, although his reputation might be as high as that of Heaven and Earth, he won't consider himself honourable. Although he might possess all the wealth in the world, he won't regard himself rich. So, a sovereign good at unifying the whole world will make people in the world work hard to serve him but he himself will enjoy his own time. He



【原文】

则其国无宿忧也。何以知其然？佚治在我，劳乱在天下，则王之道也。锐兵来则拒之，患至则趋之，使诸侯无成谋，则其国无宿忧矣。何以知其然矣？昔者魏王拥土千里，带甲三十六万，其强而拔邯郸，西围定阳，有（从）十二诸侯朝天子，以西谋秦。秦王恐之，寝不安席，食不甘味，令于境内，尽堞中为战具，竟为守备，为死士置将，以待魏氏。卫鞅谋于秦王曰：‘夫魏氏，其功大而令行于天下，有十二诸侯而朝天子，其与必众。故以一秦而敌大魏，恐不如。王何不使臣见魏王，则臣请必北魏矣。’秦

【今译】

成功，那他的国家就没有什么长久的忧患了。怎么知道是这样的呢？我自身安逸、国家治理得好，天下各国的人民烦劳、国家混乱，这是成就王业的办法。强大的军队来攻击就抵御它，祸患来了就把它驱赶出去，让图谋自己的诸侯不能得逞，那国家就没有长久的忧患了。怎么知道是这样的呢？从前魏王拥有一千里土地、三十六万武装军队，倚仗自己的强大攻克了邯郸，向西包围了定阳，又联合十二个国家的君主一起朝拜天子并向西图谋秦国。秦王很害怕，觉睡得不安稳，吃饭也不觉得香，下令在国内所有的女墙里都布置了作战的器械，边境进入守备状态，招募死士，安置将领，来准备对付魏国军队的进攻。卫鞅向秦王出谋献策说：‘魏国的战功很大而且向天下发号施令，联合十二个国家的君主朝拜天子，它的盟国一定很多，所以用一个秦国来抵御强大的魏国，兵力恐怕不如它。大王何不让我去见魏王？我一定能让魏国撤



will make other states in the world chaotic but put his own state in perfect order. Other states' sovereigns scheming against him will never succeed, and his state is free from any severe problems. How do I know this? Making sure that he himself is leisurely, his state is in order, and that other states are in chaos and their people are working hard to serve him is the right way to unify the world. Confront formidable invading troops, tackle every trouble, make the schemes of all the antagonistic states' result in vain, then the state will be free from trouble. How do I know this? Once the king of the state of Wei used to have one thousand *li* of land and three hundred and sixty thousand armoured soldiers. With the power of his state, his troops occupied Handan and besieged Dingyang in the west. Then he united with the sovereigns of twelve states to show respect to the Son of Heaven and scheme against the state of Qin in the west. The king of Qin was scared. He could not sleep well, nor could he enjoy his meals. In order to breast the invasion of the troops of Wei, he ordered to deploy weapons along all the walls of the state and asked the border guards to be on the alert. He also recruited warriors who would fight to the death on his behalf as well as nominated military leaders. Wei Yang planned with the king of Qin and said, 'The state of Wei has gained great victories and its orders are carried out all over the world. It also has united with twelve states to show respect to the Son of Heaven. Therefore, it might be supported by many states. So, if we confront the troops of the powerful Wei with our own military forces, I am afraid that we are unable to beat

【原文】

王许诺。卫鞅见魏王，曰：‘大王之功大矣，令行于天下矣！今大王之所从十二诸侯，非宋、卫也，则邹、鲁、陈、蔡，此固大王之所以鞭箠使也，不足以王天下。大王不若北取燕，东伐齐，则赵必从矣；西取秦，南伐楚，则韩必从矣。大王有伐齐、楚心，而从天下之志，则王业见矣。大王不如先行王服，然后图齐、楚。’魏王说于卫鞅之言也，故身广公宫，制丹衣（柱），建九旂[之旌]，从七星之旂。此天子之位也，而魏王处之。于是齐、楚怒，诸侯奔齐，齐人伐魏，杀其太子，覆其十万之军。魏王大恐，跣

【今译】

军。’秦王允许了。卫鞅去见魏王，说：‘大王的功劳很大啊，天下各国都听从您的命令呢！如今大王所联合的十二个国家不是宋国、卫国，就是邹国、鲁国、陈国、蔡国，这些国家本来就是大王可以驱使的，不足以统一天下。大王不如向北占领燕国，向东攻打齐国，赵国就一定会服从了；向西占领秦国，向南攻打楚国，韩国就必定会服从了。大王有了攻打齐国和楚国的心思，以及联合天下各国的志向，就能成就王业了。大王不如先穿戴王者的衣冠，然后图谋齐国和楚国。’魏王很赞成卫鞅所说的话，所以他扩展自己的宫室，制作了红色的朝服，竖立起九面旗帜以及画有朱雀七星的旗子，这是天子的排场，而魏王自己却这么做了。于是齐国和楚国很愤怒，各国都投靠齐国，齐国军队进攻魏国，杀死了魏国太子，消灭了魏国的十万大军。魏王十分恐惧，下令停止用兵并且



them. Your Majesty, why not send me to visit the king of the state of Wei? I can definitely make him withdraw his troops.' The king of Qin agreed. Wei Yang went to see the king of the state of Wei and said, 'Your Majesty, you are extremely meritorious, and your orders are carried out all over the world. Moreover, you have built an alliance with twelve states, including Song, Wei, Zou, Lu, Chen and Cai etc. However, these states have already been under your leadership before. In this case, they are still not enough for you to unify the whole world. It would be better if you occupy the state of Yan in the north and attack the state of Qi in the east. Then the state of Zhao will definitely submit to you. You can also occupy the state of Qin in the west and invade the state of Chu in the south. Thus the state of Han will definitely submit to you. If you are really committed to attacking Qi and Chu and building an alliance with other states in the world, you can unify the whole world. You'd better get dressed as a King first. Then you can scheme against Qi and Chu.' The king of Wei was very happy with Wei Yang's suggestions. So he had his palace enlarged, had red robes made and set up nine banners and a flag with the picture of the seven stars belonging to the star cluster of Zhu Que. Such extravagance should only be enjoyed by a Son of Heaven. But the king of Wei had these luxurious things prepared for himself. As a result, the sovereigns of Qi and Chu became very angry with him. Other states' sovereigns took side with the state of Qi. The troops of Qi attacked the state of Wei, killed its crown prince and annihilated one



【原文】

行按兵于国，而东次于齐，然后天下乃舍之。当是时，秦王垂拱受西河之外，而不以德魏王。故卫鞅之始与秦王计也，谋约不下席，言于尊俎之间，谋成于堂上，而魏将以禽于齐矣；冲櫓未施，而西河之外入于秦矣。此臣之所谓（比）[北]之堂上，禽将户内，拔城于尊俎之间，折冲席上者也。”

【今译】

光着脚到齐国送信，天下各国才放过了他。正当这时，秦王不费吹灰之力就接管了西河以外的土地，而且也不因此而感激魏王。所以说卫鞅开始跟秦王谋划的时候，坐在席子上就能商定计谋，宴席谈笑之间就能制定策略。在朝堂之上成功运筹，魏将就被齐军活捉了；没有使用战车，西河以外的土地就归秦国了。这就是我所说的在朝堂上运筹就能把敌军打败，在室内谋划也能把敌将擒获，宴席上谈笑之间就能把敌人的城邑攻下，在座席上就能把敌人的战车折断。”



hundred thousand soldiers. The king of Wei was scared. He ordered his troops to cease military action and sent a letter to the king of the state of Qi (to beg for pardon) barefoot. Then the allied forces enlisted by states all over the world forgave him. At that time, the king of the state of Qin obtained the region of Xihe without any effort. And he was not grateful to the king of the state of Wei. So when Wei Yang began to scheme with the king of the state of Qin, they could plan tactics in their seats and make decisions during banquets. They planned at court and then the troops of Qi captured the general of the troops of Wei. They gained the area of Xihe without utilizing chariots. That is what I mean by defeating enemy troops at court, capturing enemy generals without leaving the chamber, demolishing enemy cities during banquets and destroying enemy chariots without leaving the seat."



卷十三 齐 六

齐负郭之民有狐狐咥者

【原文】

齐负郭之民有狐狐咥者，正议，闵王斲之檀衢，百姓不附。齐孙室子陈举直言，杀之东门，宗族离心；司马穰苴，为政者也，杀之，大臣不亲。以故燕举兵，使昌国君将而击之。齐使向子将而应之。齐军破，向子以舆一乘亡。达子收余卒，复振，与燕战，求所以偿者，闵王不肯与，军破走。

王奔莒，淖齿数之曰：“夫千乘、博昌之间，方数百里，雨血沾衣，王

【今译】

靠近齐都城墙居住着一个叫狐咥的人，他直言不讳地议论政事，所以齐闵王在檀衢砍了他的头，老百姓很不服气；齐王室子弟陈举说话率直，在东门被杀，宗族之间离心离德；司马穰苴执掌政事，也被处死了，大臣们都不亲近齐闵王了。因为这一原因，燕国起兵，任用昌国君率领军队进攻齐国。齐闵王让向子率领军队迎击燕军。齐国军队被击溃，向子驾着一辆战车逃跑了。达子收拾残兵败将，重新起兵，跟燕国军队作战，请求一些钱财用来犒赏士卒，齐闵王不肯给他。齐军被击败，达子逃亡。

齐闵王逃往莒国。淖齿数落他说：“千乘与博昌之间方圆几百里的



Book 13

The Sixth Volume on Qi

A Man Named Hu Xuan Lived near the Protective Wall of the Capital of Qi

A man named Hu Xuan lived near the protective wall of the capital of the state of Qi. He always remonstrated with King Min of Qi bluntly regarding government affairs. King Min beheaded him in the Tanqu Street. The people considered this unjust. Chen Ju, a member of the royal family of the state of Qi, was straightforward in expressing his opinions. As a result, he was sentenced to death at the Eastern Gate of the capital. Thus the royal family was no longer of one mind. Sima Rangju was in charge of administering the state. He was killed as well. Court officials didn't feel close to King Min any more. Due to these events, the state of Yan dispatched troops to invade Qi. Lord Changguo was designated as Commander-in-Chief. King Min appointed Xiangzi to command the troops of Qi to confront the enemy troops. The troops of Qi suffered a debacle. General Xiangzi took a chariot and escaped. But Dazi reassembled the remnants of the defeated army and confronted the troops of Yan again. Dazi asked for some money to reward his officers and men. But King Min refused. The troops of Qi were defeated again and Dazi escaped.

King Min escaped to the state of Ju. Zhuo Chi scolded



【原文】

知之乎？”王曰：“不知。”“嬴、博之间，地坼至泉，王知之乎？”王曰：“不知。”“人有当阙而哭者，求之则不得，去之则闻其声，王知之乎？”王曰：“不知。”淳齿曰：“天雨血沾衣者，天以告也；地坼至泉者，地以告也；人有当阙而哭者，人以告也。天地人皆以告矣，而王不知戒焉，何得无诛乎？”于是杀闵王于鼓里。

太子乃解衣免服，逃太史之家，为溉园。君王后，太史氏女，知其贵人，善事之。田单以即墨之城、破亡余卒，破燕兵，给骑劫，遂以复齐。

【今译】

地方，天上下血雨淋湿人们的衣服，大王知道这事吗？”齐闵王说：“不知道。”“嬴与博之间，大地开裂，直达地下的泉水，大王知道这事吗？”齐闵王说：“不知道。”“有人在国都门楼前哭泣，过去寻找却找不到人，离开却能听到他的哭声，大王知道这事吗？”齐闵王说：“不知道。”淳齿说：“上天下血雨淋湿人们的衣服，是上天以此警告；大地开裂，直达地下的泉水，是大地以此警告；有人在门楼前哭泣，是人以此警告。天、地、人都发出警告了，而大王却不知道收敛，怎能不被诛杀呢？”于是在鼓里把齐闵王杀死了。

于是齐国的太子脱下衣服、摘掉饰物，逃到太史家里，为他们浇灌园子。君王后是太史家的女儿，知道太子是个显贵的人，就善待他。田单凭借着即墨城和残兵败将击败了燕国的军队，对燕将骑劫设下骗局，终于收复了齐国。立即到莒国去迎接太子，立他为王。齐襄王即位，立



him, "Between Qiancheng and Bochang, blood rained down over a region of several hundred square *li* and soaked people's clothes. Have you ever heard of that?" King Min said, "No, I didn't know about that." "Between Ying and Bo, the earth cracked and the crevice reached the underground water. Have you ever heard of that?" King Min said, "No, I have never heard of that." "Someone cried in front of the watch tower of the capital gate. When people looked for this man, they couldn't find him. After they left the watch tower, they could still hear him crying. Have you ever heard of that?" King Min said, "No, I have not." Zhuo Chi said, "Heaven warned you by raining blood which soaked people's clothes. Earth warned you by making the earth crack whose crevice reached the underground water. The man warned you by crying in front of the watch tower. However, you haven't improved your behaviour. Don't you deserve to be sentenced to death?" Then he beheaded King Min in the Guli Street.

The crown prince of Qi took off his robes and decorations. Then he escaped to the Tai Shi's and watered the garden for the family. Jun Wanghou was the daughter of the Tai Shi. She realized that this young man might have a powerful and honourable background, so she treated him very well. Relying on the city of Jimo and the remnants of the defeated army of the state of Qi, Tian Dan defeated the troops of the state of Yan, outwitted Qi Jie, the general of Yan, with trickery and thus re-established the state of Qi. Shortly after that, he went to the state of Ju to fetch the crown prince and designated him to be the new king. After



【原文】

遽迎太子于莒，立之以为王。襄王即位，君王后以为后，生齐王建。

【今译】

君王后为王后，生下齐王建。

王孙贾年十五

【原文】

王孙贾年十五，事闵王。王出走，失王之处。其母曰：“女朝出而晚来，则吾倚门而望；女暮出而不还，则吾倚闾而望。女今事王，王出走，女不知其处，女尚何归？”王孙贾乃入市中，曰：“淖齿乱齐国，杀闵王，欲与我诛者，袒右！”市人从者四百人，与之诛淖齿，刺而杀之。

【今译】

王孙贾十五岁，侍奉齐闵王。闵王出逃后，他不知道闵王到了哪里。他的母亲说：“你早晨出去，晚上回来，我就倚在家门口张望；你傍晚出去了不回来，我就倚在闾巷门后张望。如今你侍奉大王，你不知道他在哪里，那你还回来做什么？”于是王孙贾来到集市中，说：“淖齿颠覆齐国，杀死了闵王，有想跟我一起诛杀淖齿的，袒露右臂！”集市上有四百人响应他，跟他一起去诛杀淖齿，刺死了淖齿。

燕攻齐取七十余城

【原文】

燕攻齐，取七十余城，唯莒、即墨不下。齐田单以即墨破燕，杀骑劫。

【今译】

燕国进攻齐国，占领了七十多座城邑，只有莒和即墨没有被攻下。齐将田单凭借着即墨击败了燕国军队，杀死了燕将骑劫。



King Xiang came into power, he appointed Jun Wanghou to be queen. Then she gave birth to King Jian.

Wangsun Gu Was Fifteen Years Old

Wangsun Gu was fifteen years old and worked for the regime of King Min of the state of Qi. King Min escaped and Wangsun Gu didn't know where the king was. His mother said, "When you leave home in the morning and come back in the evening, I lean upon the door waiting for you. When you leave in the evening and don't come back, I lean upon the gate of our street waiting for you. Now you are working for His Majesty. His Majesty has fled, and you don't know where he is. So why did you come back home?" Then Wangsun Gu went to the market and said, "Zhuo Chi put our state in chaos and murdered King Min. Anyone who wants to join me in killing Zhuo Chi can bare the right arm!" Four hundred people in the market joined him. They stabbed Zhuo Chi and killed him.

The Troops of Yan Attacked Qi and Occupied More Than Seventy Towns and Cities

The troops of the state of Yan attacked the state of Qi and occupied more than seventy towns and cities. Only Ju and Jimo were not conquered. Based in the city of Jimo, Tian Dan defeated the troops of Yan and killed Qi Jie, the Commander-in-Chief of the troops of Yan.



【原文】

初，燕将攻下聊城，人或谗之。燕将惧诛，遂保守聊城，不敢归。田单攻之岁余，士卒多死，而聊城不下。

鲁连乃书，约之矢以射城中，遗燕将曰：“吾闻之，智者不倍时而弃利，勇士不怯死而灭名，忠臣不先身而后君。今公行一朝之忿，不顾燕王之无臣，非忠也；杀身亡聊城，而威不信于齐，非勇也；功废名灭，后世无称，非知也。故知者不再计，勇士不怯死。今死生荣辱，尊卑贵贱，此

【今译】

起初，燕国一名将领攻克了聊城，有人向燕王进谗言。燕国将领害怕自己会被处死，于是就固守住聊城，不敢回国。田单攻打聊城，打了一年多，士卒死伤很多，但聊城却没有被攻下。

于是鲁仲连写了一封信，把它绑在一支箭上射到城中，信中对燕国将领说：“我听说，智者不会做违背时势、放弃利益的事情，勇士不会因贪生怕死而毁掉自己的声名，忠臣不会把自己放在首位而把君主放在第二位。如今您在一时的愤怒驱使下行事，不顾燕王失去您这位大臣，就是不忠；如果自己被杀，失去聊城，而且不能在齐国树立自己的威风，就不能算勇猛；功劳和名声泯灭，后世不会称誉，就是不智。所以智者不会优柔寡断，勇士不会贪生怕死。如今生死荣辱、尊卑贵贱都取决于



After a general of the state of Yan seized Liaocheng, someone spoke ill of him in front of the king of Yan. The general was in fear that he might be sentenced to death because of the slander. So he stayed in Liaocheng and didn't dare go back to Yan. Tian Dan attacked Liaocheng for more than one year. His troops suffered severe casualties. But they couldn't reoccupy Liaocheng.

Lu Zhonglian then wrote a letter, attached it to an arrow and shot it into the city of Liaocheng. In the letter, Lu Zhonglian told the general of the state of Yan, "I have heard that wise people wouldn't act against a situation or discard profit, valiant people wouldn't damage their reputations by being mortally afraid of death, loyal court officials wouldn't put themselves ahead of the sovereign. Driven by wrath, you are acting despite the fact that the king of the state of Yan might lose a high-ranking court official (referring to the general himself). So you shouldn't be regarded as loyal. If you lose both your own life and the city of Liaocheng, your power cannot be popularized in the state of Qi. Thus you shouldn't be considered valiant. If this is the case, not only will your efforts be in vain, but you will also harm your reputation. Therefore, you won't be extolled by the generations to come. So you shouldn't be regarded as a wise person, because a wise person doesn't hesitate to make decisions. A valiant person has no fear of death. Now whether you will survive or lose your life, be honoured or humiliated, become powerful or powerless, become prosperous or menial depends on whether or not you can



【原文】

其一时也。愿公之详计而无与俗同也！且楚攻南阳，魏攻平陆，齐无南面之心，以为亡南阳之害，不若得济北之利，故定计而坚守之。今秦人下兵，魏不敢东面，横秦之势合，则楚国之形危。且弃南阳，断右壤，存济北，计必为之。今楚、魏交退，燕救不至，齐无天下之规，与聊城共据期年之弊，即臣见公之不能得也。齐必决之于聊城，公无再计！

“彼燕国大乱，君臣过计，上下迷惑；栗腹以百万之众，五折于外，万

【今译】

这一刻啊。希望您仔细考虑，而不要作出跟世俗之人一样的决定！况且，楚国进攻南阳，魏国进攻平陆，齐国却没有向南进攻楚国和魏国，是因为失掉南阳的危害比不上得到聊城的利益，所以下定决心收复它。如今秦国派兵营救齐国，魏国不敢向东进攻平陆，齐国跟秦国联合起来，那楚国的形势就危险了。而且放弃南阳、丢掉平陆、保全济北，齐国一定打算这么做。如今楚国和魏国都已经退兵，燕国的救兵却没有到来，天下各国没有图谋齐国的，您的军队跟齐军在聊城相持了一年时间，已经疲弊，我看到您不能占据聊城了。齐国一定会在聊城展开决战，您不要再犹豫了！

“燕国出现大乱，君臣失计，上下迷惑；栗腹率领百万大军，在国外屡次战败，一个拥有一万辆战车的国家被赵国军队围困，土地被削割，



grasp this opportunity. Please think about it carefully and don't make decision as an ordinary person might do. In addition, although the troops of the state of Chu attacked Nanyang and those of the state of Wei invaded Pinglu, the state of Qi still didn't plan to attack Chu and Wei southwards because in comparison with losing Nanyang, it is more advantageous to obtain Liaocheng. So the troops of Qi made up their mind to reoccupy this area at all costs. Now the state of Qin has dispatched its troops to rescue the state of Qi. As a result, the troops of the state of Wei dare not march eastwards. If Qi and Qin build an alliance, the state of Chu will be under threat. Moreover, Qi will definitely decide to safeguard the region north of the Jishui River at the cost of Nanyang and Pinglu. Now both the troops of the state of Chu and those of the state of Wei have retreated. However, the reinforcements of your state have not yet arrived. There is no state in the world scheming against the state of Qi. Your troops have confronted those of Qi for more than one year and therefore have become exhausted. So I foresee that you cannot hold the city of Liaocheng. The troops of Qi will definitely fight a decisive battle with you in Liaocheng. That's certain!

"On the other hand, the state of Yan is in severe chaos. Both the sovereign and court officials have followed bad policies. Superiors and inferiors are confused. Under the leadership of General Li Fu, Yan's one million soldiers have suffered one debacle after another outside the state. As a state with ten thousand chariots, Yan has been besieged by



【原文】

乘之国，被围于赵，壤削主困，为天下戮。公闻之乎？今燕王方寒心独立，大臣不足恃，国弊祸多，民心无所归。今公又以弊聊之民，距全齐之兵，期年不解，是墨翟之守也；食人炊骨，士无反北之心，是孙臆、吴起之兵也。能以见于天下矣！故为公计者，不如罢兵休士，全车甲，归报燕王，燕王必喜。士民见公如见父母，交游攘臂而议于世，功业可明矣。上辅孤主，以制群臣；下养百姓，以资说士。矫国革俗于天下，功名可立也。

【今译】

君主陷入困境，为天下人所羞辱。您听说了吗？如今燕王正胆战心惊、孤立无援，大臣不足以依靠，国家凋弊，祸乱多，民心无所归依。如今您又用聊城疲弊的民众来抵御齐国军队，一年都没有被攻破，这是墨翟一般的防守；吃人肉，用人骨头生火做饭，士卒没有投降的意思，这就跟孙臆、吴起统帅的军队一般。您的才能已经在天下显现出来了。所以为您着想，不如撤兵，休养士卒，保全战车铠甲，回去禀报燕王，燕王一定会很高兴。士人百姓见到您，如同见到生身父母一般，他们互相奔走，袒露胳膊在世上议论，您的功业就会彰明了。上辅佐孤立无援的君主来统治群臣，下使百姓得以维持生计，并且资助能言善辩的士人，变革国家风俗，就可以建立功名。所以说，您是要抛弃燕国与世人，寓居东



the troops of the state of Zhao. It has lost its territory. Its sovereign is in trouble and therefore derided by people all over the world. Haven't you heard that? Nowadays, the king of the state of Yan is in great fear and is isolated by other states. The high-ranking court officials are not reliable. The state is exhausted and beset with problems. The people are not of one mind. Now you are using the exhausted people of Liaocheng to confront the troops of the state of Qi. The enemy hasn't breached it after one year. It means that you can safeguard Liaocheng like Mo Di did (referring to Mo Di preventing the troops of Chu from attacking the state of Song). People in the city are eating human flesh and making cooking fires with human bones. However, both soldiers and civilians don't want to surrender. It means that you can command the troops like Sun Bin and Wu Qi did. Therefore, your capability is known by people all over the world! So, for you, nothing could be better than laying down your arms, resting the troops, repairing the chariots and armour and returning to the state of Yan to report to the king there. The king will definitely be very happy with you. Scholars and the people will regard you as their own parent. With bare arms, they will travel around to discuss your contributions with other people of the world. Thus your achievements will become well-known. You can help the isolated king govern the state and ensure the survival of the people as well as support scholars. You can reform the customs and therefore accomplish great achievements and gain a high reputation in the world. Do you want to leave the state of Yan and live in



【原文】

意者，亦捐燕弃世，东游于齐乎？请裂地定封，富比陶、卫，世世称孤寡，与齐久存，此亦一计也。二者显名厚实也，愿公熟计而审处一也。

“且吾闻，效小节者不能行大威，恶小耻者不能立荣名。昔管仲射桓公中钩，篡也；遗公子纠而不能死，怯也；束缚桎梏，辱身也。此三行者，乡里不通也，世主不臣也。使管仲终穷抑，幽囚而不出，惭耻而不见，穷年没寿，不免为辱人贱行矣！然而管子并三行之过，据齐国之政，

【今译】

方的齐国呢，还是想让燕国划出土地来确定您的封地，从而使自己跟陶、卫的君主一样富有，并且世世代代做君主，跟齐国一样持久共存呢——这也是一个办法？这两个做法或能博得显要的美名，或能获得丰厚的实惠，希望您能仔细考虑并且谨慎地选择其中的一个。

“而且我听说，注重小节的人不能成就大的威名，不忍受小的耻辱的人不能建立美名。从前管仲用箭射齐桓公，射中了他的带钩，这就是篡夺；侍奉公子纠而不能为他殉死，这就是怯懦；被鲁国囚禁，这就是身遭凌辱。这三种行为，乡里人不称赞，普通的君主不任用这样的人做臣子。假使管仲终生穷困，因为曾遭监禁感到压抑而不出仕，因为自己所遭受的耻辱感到惭愧而不去拜见齐桓公，就不免做一辈子被羞辱的卑贱之人。然而管子同时拥有这三种过失，却执掌齐国的政事，一举匡正



the eastern Qi as a guest or obtain some land from the state of Yan and therefore establish your own fief? Not only can you make yourself as wealthy as the lords of Tao and Wei, but you and your offspring can also be honoured as Lord and coexist with the state of Qi. This is another possibility. You can either gain a high reputation or obtain some tremendous benefit. I hope you think about it carefully and make up your mind!

"In addition, I have heard that if one pays too much attention to detail, he cannot obtain great power; if one doesn't overlook insignificant humiliations, he cannot gain a high reputation. Previously, Guan Zhong shot at Duke Huan of the state of Qi and hit the duke's belt button. That's simply the murdering of a sovereign. He served Childe Jiu but refused to die as a martyr for the childe's sake. That's simply cowardice. He was put in prison by the state of Lu. That's nothing but humiliation. People with these three aforementioned crimes will not be accepted by those who live in the same area, nor will ordinary sovereigns employ them as high-ranking court officials. Should Guan Zhong not accept the position offered to him because of his experience as a prisoner and refuse to meet Duke Huan due to feeling sorry for the humiliation he had suffered, he would have been a menial person and therefore derided by others during his lifetime! Although Guanzi had these three unbearable experiences, he took over the government affairs of the state of Qi. With his help, Duke Huan put the whole world in order, arranged nine meetings participated in by sovereigns of



【原文】

一匡天下，九合诸侯，为五伯首，名高天下，光照邻国。曹沫为鲁君将，三战三北，而丧地千里。使曹子之足不离陈，计不顾后，出必死而不生，则不免为败军禽将。曹子以败军禽将，非勇也；功废名灭，后世无称，非知也。故去三北之耻，退而与鲁君计也，曹子以为遭。齐桓公有天下，朝诸侯，曹子以一剑之任，劫桓公于坛位之上，颜色不变，而辞气不悖。三战之所丧，一朝而反之，天下震动惊骇，威信吴、楚，传名后世。若此

【今译】

天下，九次会盟诸侯，使齐国成为五霸的首领，美名传遍天下，光辉照耀邻国。曹沫做鲁国军队将领的时候，三战三败，而且丧失了一千里土地。假使曹沫脚不曾离开阵地，不计一切后果，每次出战都抱定必死而不生还的决心，那他就不免成为战败军队的被生擒活捉的将军。曹沫作为一个战败军队的被生擒活捉的将军，不能算作英勇；功劳与名声都泯灭，不被后世称颂，不能算作智慧。所以为给三次战败雪耻，他从战场上退还后，跟鲁国国君一同商议国事，认为遇到了合适的机会。齐桓公占有天下，各国诸侯都去朝拜，曹沫凭着一把剑，在会盟的坛上劫持桓公，面不改色、辞不悖理。三次战败所失去的，一下子就重新赢得了，天下人都感到震动惊骇，他的威名传到吴楚地带，美名流传到后世。像



all the states of the world, and became the leader of the Five Lord-protectors. Therefore, Guan Zhong was held in high repute by people all over the world and held in high esteem by neighbouring states. When Cao Mo was serving as Commander-in-Chief of the troops of the state of Lu, he suffered one debacle after another and as a result, one thousand *li* of land been ceded to other states. If Cao Mo had stayed on the battleground, paid no attention to any aftermath and fought to the death, his troops would have been annihilated and he himself would have been captured by the enemy. If this were the case, Cao Mo wouldn't have been considered brave. Moreover, both his efforts and reputation would have vanished and therefore he wouldn't have been extolled by generations to come. Thus he wouldn't have been regarded as intelligent. Therefore, in order to avenge the debacles he had suffered, he retreated from the battleground and went back to plan with the sovereign of the state of Lu. Cao Mo thought he was offered the right opportunity. Duke Huan of Qi took control of the whole world and made sovereigns of other states submit to his authority. Without showing any sign of cowardice and expressing himself with justifiable words, Cao Mo threatened Duke Huan with his sword on the platform (referring to the platform on which Duke Huan and the sovereign of the state of Lu met with each other to negotiate a ceasefire between the two states). Although he had lost three battles, he regained a high reputation at one stroke. People all over the world were terrified by his action. His power was known by the people of



【原文】

二公者，非不能行小节、死小耻也，以为杀身绝世，功名不立，非知也。故去忿恚之心，而成终身之名；除感忿之耻，而立累世之功。故业与三王争流，名与天壤相敝也。公其图之！”

燕将曰：“敬闻命矣！”因罢兵到（读）[棧]而去。故解齐国之围，救百姓之死，仲连之说也。

【今译】

以上两位大人，他们并非不能顾全小节，为了自己蒙受的小小的耻辱而寻死，因为自己死去了，就不能建立功名，这么做是不明智的。所以他们能抛开心中的愤恨，成就终生的美名；能不被耻辱左右，建立传世的功劳。因此他们的功业可以跟三王相提并论，他们的美名可以跟天地相媲美。您好好想想吧！”

燕国将领说：“我恭敬地听从命令！”于是放下武器，撤兵离去。所以为齐国解围、将百姓从死亡中解救出来的是鲁仲连的一番话。

燕攻齐齐破

【原文】

燕攻齐，齐破。闵王奔莒，淖齿杀闵王。田单守即墨之城，破燕兵，复齐墟。襄王为太子（征）[微]。齐以破燕，田单之立疑，齐国之众，皆

【今译】

燕国军队进攻齐国，将齐国攻破。齐闵王逃亡到莒国，淖齿杀害了齐闵王。田单固守即墨城，击败燕国军队，收复了齐国故城。襄王作为太子隐居民间。齐国打败燕国后，田单没有确定拥立谁为齐王，齐国的



the states of Wu and Chu. His reputation was remembered by the following generations. As for these two aforementioned persons, it is not that they couldn't perform insignificant actions perfectly or give up their lives because of insignificant humiliations. They refused to act that way because it was unwise since they couldn't make great contributions and gain high reputations by doing so. Hence, they would hold their anger and gain high reputations. They would suffer humiliations and make great contributions to the world. So their achievements can be mentioned in the same breath with those of the Three King Ancestors. Their reputations can match those of Heaven and Earth. Please think about it carefully!"

The general of the state of Yan said, "I will follow and respect your instructions!" Then he laid down his arms and withdrew his troops. Due to these words of Lu Zhonglian, the siege of Qi was raised and the people were saved.

Yan Attacked Qi and Defeated It

The troops of the state of Yan attacked the state of Qi and defeated it. King Min of Qi escaped to Ju. Zhuo Chi murdered King Min. Tian Dan secured the city of Jimo, defeated the troops of Yan and reoccupied the ruined capital of Qi. The crown prince, the later King Xiang, hid among the people. Under Tian Dan's leadership, the troops of Qi defeated those of Yan. Tian Dan was not sure whom he should appoint to be the new king. The people of the state of



【原文】

以田单为自立也。

襄王立，田单相之。过菑水，有老人涉菑而寒，出不能行，坐于沙中。田单见其寒，欲使后车分衣，无可以分者，单解裘而衣之。襄王恶之，曰：“田单之施，将欲以取我国乎？不早图，恐后之。”左右顾无人，岩下有贯珠者，襄王呼而问之曰：“女闻吾言乎？”对曰：“闻之。”王曰：“女以为何若？”对曰：“王不如因以为己善。王嘉单之善，下令曰：‘寡人忧民之饥也，单收而食之；寡人忧民之寒也，单解裘而衣之。寡人忧劳百姓，而单亦忧之，称寡人之意。’单有是善，而王嘉之，善单之善，亦王之

【今译】

民众都以为田单要自立为王。

襄王即位后，田单做他的相国。田单路过淄水的时候，有一个老人过河后身上发冷，从水里出来后就不能行走了，坐在岸边的沙子里。田单发觉他感到冷，就让后车上的人分些衣服给老人，却没有多余的衣服可以分给他，田单就脱下自己的皮袄给老人穿上。襄王讨厌他这么做，说：“田单这么布施，是想取代我做君主吧？如果不及早图谋，恐怕会落在他后面。”左右看了看，没有别人，岩石下面只有一个采珠的人，襄王把他叫上前来，问道：“你听到我说的话了吗？”贯珠者回答道：“听见了。”襄王问：“你认为怎么样？”贯珠者回答说：“大王不如趁机把这作为自己的善举。大王嘉奖田单的善举，下达一道命令说：‘我忧心百姓饥饿，而田单收养他们；我忧心百姓寒冷，而田单解下自己的皮袄给他们穿；我为百姓忧心忡忡，而田单也为他们忧心，合乎我的心意。’田单有这样的善举，而大王嘉奖他，那田单的善举也就成了大王的善举了！”襄



Qi thought that Tian Dan might take over the throne himself.

After King Xiang came into power, Tian Dan served him as prime minister. Once, when Tian Dan passed by the Zishui River, he saw an old man feeling very cold after having crossed the river. The old man couldn't walk, so he sat in the sand. Tian Dan realized that the old man felt very cold, so he asked the people sitting in the accompanying carriage to share their clothes with the old man. But they didn't have surplus clothes to offer. Tian Dan took off his own fur coat and let the old man put it on. King Xiang disliked his conduct and said, "Tian Dan offers others his own possessions. Probably he wants to replace me to govern the state? If I don't plan in time, he might take action before I do." He looked around and found nobody in the court hall. Outside the hall, there was a man named Guan Shu. King Xiang ordered Guan Shu to come up and asked, "Have you heard what I said?" Guan Shu replied, "Yes, I have." The king asked further, "What do you think about it?" Guan Shu replied, "It would be better if Your Majesty can take occasion to attribute Tian Dan's benevolent conduct to yourself. You'd better praise the kind deeds of Tian Dan and issue an order as follows: 'I worry that the people don't have enough food to eat, so Tian Dan supports them. I worry that the people don't have clothes to wear, so Tian Dan provide them his own clothes. I worry about the problems of the people, so does Tian Dan. I am very satisfied with him.' When Tian Dan has kind deeds, you should praise him. By praising the kind deeds of Tian Dan, you can attribute his kind deeds to yourself!"



【原文】

善已！”王曰：“善。”乃赐单牛酒，嘉其行。

后数日，贯珠者复见王，曰：“王至朝日，宜召田单而揖之于庭，口劳之。乃布令求百姓之饥寒者，收赈之。”乃使人听于闾里，闻丈夫之相与语，举曰：“田单之爱人！嗟，乃王之教泽也！”

【今译】

王说：“好。”于是赐给田单牛和酒，嘉奖他的善行。

过了几天，贯珠者又谒见襄王，说：“大王到上朝的那天，应该召见田单，并且在朝堂上对他行礼，并对他进行口头表扬。然后命令他搜寻饥寒交迫的百姓，收留并供养他们。”于是派人到街巷间探听风声，听到男人们都互相转告说：“田单爱护百姓！哎，都是大王的教导熏陶的结果！”

貂勃常恶田单

【原文】

貂勃常恶田单，曰：“安平君，小人也！”安平君闻之，故为酒而召貂勃，曰：“单何以得罪于先生，故常见誉于朝？”貂勃曰：“跖之狗吠尧，非贵跖而贱尧也，狗固吠非其主也。且今使公孙子贤而徐子不肖，然而使公孙子与徐子斗，徐子之狗，犹时攫公孙子之腓而噬之也。若乃得去不肖者而为贤者狗，岂特攫其腓而噬之耳哉？”安平君曰：“敬闻命！”明日，任之于王。

【今译】

貂勃经常诽谤田单，说：“安平君是个小人！”安平君听说了此事，特意置办了酒席宴请貂勃，说：“我怎么得罪先生您了，使您经常在朝廷上败坏我？”貂勃说：“盗跖的狗冲着尧狂吠，并非认为跖尊贵、尧卑贱，狗的本性就是冲着自已的主人以外的人狂吠。现在假设公孙先生贤明而徐先生不肖，然而如果公孙先生跟徐先生打斗起来，徐先生的狗也会时时抓住公孙先生的腿肚子撕咬。假如能够除掉不肖之人而做贤明的人的狗，哪里会只撕咬别人的腿肚子呢！”安平君说：“我恭敬地听从命令！”第二天就把他推荐给齐王。



King Xiang said, "Good idea." So he awarded Tian Dan cows and wine to extol his benevolent conduct.

A few days later, Guan Shu went to see the king again and said, "The next time Your Majesty holds court, you should call in Tian Dan, bow to him at court and praise him orally. Then you can order him to look for and support those who don't have enough to wear or eat." Then the king sent spies to collect information in lanes and streets. They heard the people talking with each other and saying, "Look, how benevolent Tian Dan is to the people! This is surely nothing but the positive influence of the instructions of His Majesty!"

Diao Bo Often Spoke Ill of Tian Dan

Diao Bo often spoke ill of Tian Dan. He said, "Lord Anping is but a base person!" When Lord Anping heard of this, he prepared a banquet, invited Diao Bo for a drink and asked, "Have I ever offended you, Sire? Why do you often speak ill of me?" Diao Bo said, "Zhi's dog may yap at Yao. However, it doesn't mean that it regarded Zhi as honourable and powerful but considered Yao menial. It is natural for a dog to yap at people except its master. Suppose a Mr Gongsun who is worthy and a Mr Xu who is unworthy were fighting each other, Mr Xu's dog would bite Mr Gongsun's leg from time to time. If you can get rid of the unworthy and let me be a dog of the worthy, I would do anything for them!" Lord Anping said, "Well, I will follow your instructions with respect!" The next day, he recommended



【原文】

王有所幸臣九人之属，欲伤安平君，相与语于王曰：“燕之伐齐之时，楚王使将军将万人而佐齐。今国已定，而社稷已安矣，何不使使者谢于楚王？”王曰：“左右孰可？”九人之属曰：“貂勃可。”貂勃使楚，楚王受而觞之，数日不反。九人之属相与语于王曰：“夫一人[之]身而牵留万乘者，岂不以据势也哉？且安平君之与王也，君臣无礼，而上下无别。且其志欲为不善。内（牧）[收]百姓，循抚其心，振穷补不足，布德于民；

【今译】

齐王宠信的大臣有九个，他们想陷害安平君，就互相串通对齐王说：“燕国军队进攻齐国的时候，楚王派淖齿率领一万军队营救齐国。如今国家局势已经稳定，而且平安无事了，为何不派使者向楚王表示感谢呢？”齐王问道：“身边的人当中谁可以出使？”九个大臣都说：“貂勃可以。”貂勃出使楚国，楚王接见并宴请他，几天过去还没有回来。九个大臣互相串通起来对齐王说：“貂勃一个人就能牵动一个拥有一万辆战车的大国，难道不是凭借着安平君的势力吗？再说安平君对待大王，不履行君臣之间的礼节，并且无视上下级的区别。他的意思是想造反；在国内收买百姓，顺应他们的心意，赈济贫困的人，帮助财用匮乏的人，对百



Diao Bo to the king.

Nine high-ranking court officials cherished by the king of Qi wanted to do harm to Lord Anping. So they united with each other to slander Lord Anping in front of the king and said, "When the troops of the state of Yan invaded our state, the king of the state of Chu ordered General Zhuo Chi to lead an army consisting of ten thousand soldiers to reinforce our troops. Now our state has been free from trouble and everything has been in order. Why not send an emissary to the state of Chu to express our thanks to Chu's king?" The king asked, "Who is qualified for this diplomatic mission?" These nine high-ranking court officials all said, "Diao Bo can fulfill this task." Diao Bo was sent on this diplomatic mission to the state of Chu. The king of Chu treated him well and invited him to banquet. Several days had passed, but Diao Bo didn't come back. These nine court officials associated with each other to slander him in front of the king and said, "As an individual, Diao Bo has been treated very well by a state with ten thousand chariots. Isn't this attributable to the power of Lord Anping? Regarding the relationship between Lord Anping and Your Majesty, he doesn't revere you as a sovereign and overlooks the difference between sovereign and court officials. He is plotting to overthrow your regime. He is being engaged in buying off the people and acting on their behalf within the state. He helps the poor and supports those who don't have enough means to sustain themselves. He provides various benefit to the people. On the other hand, he focuses on winning over the Di and Rong Peoples and the



【原文】

外怀戎翟、天下之贤士，阴结诸侯之雄俊豪英。其志欲有为也。愿王之察之！”异日而王曰：“召相单来！”田单免冠徒跣肉袒而进，退而请死罪。五日而王曰：“子无罪于寡人，子为子之臣礼，吾为吾之王礼而已矣。”

貂勃从楚来，王觞诸前。酒酣，王曰：“召相田单而来！”貂勃避席稽首曰：“王恶得此亡国之言乎？王上者孰与周文王？”王曰：“吾不若也。”貂勃曰：“然，臣固知王不若也。下者孰与齐桓公？”王曰：“吾不若也。”貂勃曰：“然，臣固知王不若也。然则周文王得吕尚以为‘太公’，齐桓公得管夷吾以为‘仲父’，今王得安平君而独曰‘单’！且自天地之辟，民人

【今译】

姓施加恩惠；在外拉拢戎、翟以及天下的贤士，暗中结交其他国家的英雄豪杰，他肯定是想篡夺王位。希望大王明察此事！”改天，齐王说：“把田单叫来。”田单摘掉帽子、脱掉鞋子，裸露着上身进宫，退出宫中就请求被处以死罪，五天后，齐王说：“你对我并没有犯下什么罪。你行你作为臣子的礼节，我行我作为君主的礼节而已。”

貂勃从楚国回来，齐王赏给他酒喝。喝到兴头上，齐王说：“把相国田单叫来。”貂勃离开自己的座席叩头说：“大王怎么说这些导致亡国的话？大王跟周文王相比，谁更贤能？”齐王说：“我比不上周文王。”貂勃说：“是的。我本来就知道大王比不上文王。您跟齐桓公相比，谁更贤能？”齐王说：“我比不上齐桓公。”貂勃说：“是的。我本来就知道您比不上齐桓公。然而周文王得到吕尚，把他封为‘太公’；齐桓公得到管仲，称他作‘仲父’；如今大王得到安平君，却直呼其名！而且自从天地开



worthy scholars of the world. He also secretly consorts with outstanding people of other states. Surely he is going to take action to overthrow you. Your Majesty, please consider this!" On another day, the king said, "Call Tian Dan here!" Tian Dan took off his hat, shoes and coat and entered the palace, being bare to the waist. Then he walked a few steps back and asked the king to sentence him to death. Five days later, the king told him, "You are not guilty at all. You should abide by the rules of propriety stipulated for court officials. And I will abide by those rules stipulated for sovereign. That's all."

Diao Bo came back from the state of Chu. The king of Qi awarded him some wine to drink. When the atmosphere reached its peak, the king said, "Call Prime Minister Tian Dan here!" Diao Bo left his seat, bowed to the king and said, "Why did you say such words that might lead to the destruction of our state? Compared with King Wen of the Zhou Dynasty, do you think you are worthier than him?" The king said, "No, I am not as worthy as King Wen." Diao Bo said, "Right. I know that you are not as worthy as King Wen. Compared with Duke Huan of our state, do you think you are worthier than him?" The king said, "No, I am not as worthy as Duke Huan." Diao Bo said, "Yes. I know that you are not as worthy as Duke Huan. However, after King Wen won over Lü Shang, he addressed Lü Shang as 'Grand Father'. After Duke Huan won over Guan Zhong, or Guan Yiwu, he addressed Guan Zhong as 'Second Father'. Now you are the ruler of Lord Anping, but you simply call him by

【原文】

之治，为人臣之功者，谁有厚于安平君者哉？而王曰‘单’（单）。恶得此亡国之言乎？且王不能守先王之社稷，燕人兴师而袭齐墟，王走而之城阳之山中。安平君以惴惴之即墨，三里之城，五里之郭，敝卒七千，禽其司马，而反千里之齐，安平君之功也！当是时也，阖城阳而王，（城阳）天下莫之能止。然而计之于道，归之于义，以为不可，故为栈道木阁，而迎王与后于城阳山中，王乃得反，子临百姓。今国已定，民已安矣，王乃曰‘单’！且婴儿之计不为此！王不亟杀此九子者以谢安平君？不然，国危矣！”王乃杀九子而逐其家，益封安平君以夜邑万户。

【今译】

辟、君主开始治理人民以来，作为臣子的，有谁的功劳比安平君更大呢？而大王却直接叫他‘单’！怎么能说这些导致亡国的话呢？而且大王不能固守先王留下来的国家，燕国派兵侵袭齐国都城，大王逃往城阳的山中。安平君凭借着处于危急之中的即墨，倚仗着三里长的内城、五里长的外城，以及七千名疲惫不堪的士卒，擒获了敌人的司马，并且收复了齐国一千里的土地。这是安平君的功劳！在那个时候，如果安平君自己继承王位，天下没有人能制止他。然而他一切以道义为准则，认为不能这么做。所以在城阳山中架起小道迎接大王和王后，大王才得以返回齐国、统治百姓。如今国家已经安定，百姓已经安居乐业，大王就直接叫他‘单’，即使是不懂事的小孩子也不会这么做的。大王应当立即处死这九个人来向安平君表示歉意。不然的话，国家就危险了！”于是齐王处死了九个大臣并且驱逐了他们的家族，加封给安平君拥有一万户人口的夜邑。



name. From the birth of the world and since sovereigns began to govern the people, among all the high-ranking court officials, is there anyone been more meritorious than Lord Anping? But Your Majesty just call him 'Dan'! Where have you learned this word that might lead to the destruction of our state? In addition, previously you couldn't safeguard our state handed down from our deceased sovereigns. When the troops of the state of Yan invaded our capital, you escaped to the mountains of Chengyang. Relying on the imperilled Jimo, the protection of three *li* of inner defensive wall and five *li* of outer defensive wall, and seven thousand exhausted soldiers, Lord Anping captured the Minister of War of the enemy troops and reoccupied one thousand *li* of land seized by the enemy. These are Lord Anping's contributions! At that time, if Lord Anping wanted to take over the regime, no one in the world could stop him. However, he acted according to the rules of morality and justice and refused to do so. Then he built a plank road in the mountains of Chengyang to fetch you and the queen. Thus you were able to rerurn to Qi and govern the people. Now our state has been free from trouble and the people are enjoying their lives. And you call him 'Dan'. Even babies wouldn't act this way! Why not sentence those nine court officials to death immediately to appologize to Lord Anping? Otherwise, our state will be in danger!" So the king sentenced those nine people to death and banished their clans. He also conferred on Lord Anping the county of Ye along with the ten thousand families living there.

田单将攻狄

【原文】

田单将攻狄，往见鲁仲子。仲子曰：“将军攻狄，不能下也。”田单曰：“臣以五里之城，七里之郭，破亡余卒，破万乘之燕，复齐墟。攻狄而不下，何也？”上车弗谢而去。遂攻狄，三月而不克之也。

齐婴儿谣曰：“大冠若箕，修剑拄颐，攻狄不能下，垒枯丘。”田单乃惧，问鲁仲子曰：“先生谓单不能下狄，请闻其说。”鲁仲子曰：“将军之在即墨，坐而织蓐，立则丈插，为士卒倡曰：‘[无]可往矣！宗庙亡矣！云

【今译】

田单即将进攻狄人，前去拜见鲁仲连。鲁仲连说：“将军进攻狄人，不能攻克啊。”田单说：“我凭借着五里内城、七里外城，以及被击败的残兵败将，打败了万乘的燕国，收复了齐国故都。进攻狄人却不能攻克，怎么回事？”上了车，没有道别就离开了。于是就进攻狄人，三个月过去了也没有攻克他们的国家。

齐国的小孩儿唱一首歌谣，说：“大大的帽子像簸箕，长长的剑拄着下巴，进攻狄人不能攻克，死伤士卒的骨头堆积如山。”于是田单很恐惧，问鲁仲连说：“先生说过我不能攻克狄人的国家，请解释给我听听！”鲁仲连说：“将军在即墨的时候，坐下就编织草器，站起就带上刨土的工具，教导士卒说：‘没有地方可去了。宗庙被破坏了，魂魄丧失了，能到





Tian Dan Was Going to Invade the Di People

Tian Dan was going to invade the state of the Di people. So he went to see Lu Zhonglian to ask for instructions. Lu Zhonglian said, "General, you are about to attack the Di people. But you cannot defeat them." Tian Dan said, "Previously, based on five *li* of inner protective wall, seven *li* of outer protective wall (referring to the protective walls of the city of Jimo) and the remnants of our defeated army, I defeated the troops of Yan, which used to own ten thousand chariots, and reoccupied our ruined capital. How can I not defeat the Di people?" Without saying good-bye to Lu Zhonglian, he got on his carriage and left. Then he attacked the Di people. Three months passed, but he still couldn't defeat them.

The children of the state of Qi sang a song which said, "Wearing a huge hat as big as a dustpan and carrying a long sword that reaches the chin, you cannot defeat the Di people. The bones of our dead soldiers have piled up like hills." Then Tian Dan was scared. He asked Lu Zhonglian, "You said that I cannot defeat the Di people, Sire. Please explain the reason to me." Lu Zhonglian said, "When you were in Jimo, you would weave straw utensils whenever you sat down as well as carry the tools for building earthworks with you whenever you stood up. You also encouraged officers and men as follows: 'Where shall we go? Our ancestral temple has been destroyed. The souls of our forefathers won't have a place to



【原文】

曰尚矣！归于何党矣！’当此之时，将军有死之心，而士卒无生之气，闻若言，莫不挥泣奋臂而欲战，此所以破燕也。当今将军东有夜邑之奉，西有菑上之虞，黄金横带，而驰乎淄、渑之间，有生之乐，无死之心，所以不胜者也。”田单曰：“单有心，先生志之矣！”

明日，乃厉气循城，立于矢石之所，乃援枹鼓之，狄人乃下。

【今译】

哪里去呢！’在那个时候，将军您抱定必死的决心，士卒没有生还的指望，听到这番话，没有不抹着泪水、舞动着双臂而跃跃欲战的。这是能够击败燕军的原因啊。如今将军东面有夜邑的供奉，西面有淄水上的游乐场地，带钩上装饰着黄金，并且在淄水与渑水之间驰骋游乐，有活着的乐趣，没有必死的决心。所以不能取胜啊！”田单说：“我决心攻克狄人的国家，先生记住我的话吧。”

第二天，田单就勉励士卒，巡视城防，自己站在敌箭所能射击到的地方，拿起鼓槌击鼓，狄人才投降了。

濮上之事

【原文】

濮上之事，贅子死，章子走。盼子谓齐王曰：“不如易余粮于宋，宋王必说，梁氏不敢过宋伐齐。齐固弱，是以余粮收宋也。齐国复强，虽

【今译】

濮上战役中，贅子丧生，匡章出逃。盼子对齐王说：“不如把我们的余粮转移到宋国，宋王一定会很高兴，魏国军队就不敢穿过宋国来攻打



dwell. Where shall we go?' At that time, you made up your mind to fight to the death on the battlefield. Officers and men didn't expect to come back alive. When they heard these words, they all wiped their eyes, showed their bare arms and were ready to confront the enemy troops. That's why you defeated the troops of Yan. Now you are supported with the produce of the county of Ye in the east as well as entertained with various pleasures offered by the entertaining centre on the bank of the Zishui River in the west. Your belt buttons are decorated with gold. You travel along the Zishui River and the Mianshui River for pleasure. Thus you are enjoying your life and no longer want to fight to the death. That's why you cannot win the victory." Tian Dan said, "I have made up my mind to defeat them. Please remember my words, Sire!"

Next day, he encouraged his officers and men and also went to inspect the fortifications. Then he stood at a place which could be reached by the enemy's arrows, took up the drum stick and beat the war drum. Finally the Di people surrendered.

The War in Pu

During the war in Pu, Zhuizi lost his life and Kuang Zhang escaped. Panzi had a talk with the king of the state of Qi and said, "We'd better present our surplus grain to the state of Song. Then the king of Song will definitely be very happy with us. As a result, the troops of the state of Wei

【原文】

复责之宋，可；不偿，因以为辞而攻之，亦可。”

【今译】

齐国。如果齐国被削弱，我们就用余粮来收买宋国。如果齐国再度强大起来，即便我们再向宋国索要粮食，也是可以的；如果宋国不还给我们，趁机以此为借口进攻它，也是可以的。”

齐闵王之遇杀

【原文】

齐闵王之遇杀，其子法章变姓名，为莒太史家庸夫。太史敫女奇法章之状貌，以为非常人，怜而常窃衣食之，与私焉。莒中及齐亡臣相聚，求闵王子，欲立之。法章乃自言于莒，共立法章为襄王。襄王立，以太史氏女为王后，生子建。太史敫曰：“女无谋而嫁者，非吾种也，污吾世

【今译】

齐闵王遇害被杀后，他的儿子法章隐姓埋名，做了莒国太史家的佣人。太史敫的女儿惊诧于法章奇伟的相貌，以为他是一个不同寻常的人，同情他而且经常窃取家中的衣服和食物送给他，跟他私通。莒国和齐国逃亡的大臣相聚，寻找闵王的儿子，想立他为王。于是法章自己告诉莒国人他就是太子，大家一起拥立法章为齐襄王。襄王即位后，把太史家的女儿立为王后，生下太子建。太史敫说：“女孩子没有经过媒人介绍就出嫁，不配做我的孩子，玷污了我家的门风！”终生不见他的女



won't dare march through Song to attack our state. If Qi weakens, we can win over Song with our surplus grain. If Qi becomes strong again, it will be possible for us to ask Song to return our grain. If Song refuses to do so, we can use this as a subterfuge to attack it."

King Min of Qi Was Murdered

King Min of the state of Qi was murdered. Fa Zhang, the son of the king, changed his name, escaped to the state of Ju and worked there for the Taishis as a servant. The daughter of Taishi Jiao admired his extraordinary countenance and thought that he was not an ordinary person. So she often stole some clothes and food from the family to support him. She also developed a love affair with him. In order to find the prince of King Min of Qi and therefore enthrone him as the new king of the state of Qi, officials of the state of Ju and Qi's high-ranking court officials taking refuge in Ju had a meeting. Then Fa Zhang told them that he himself was the prince. Thus they enthroned him to be the new king and addressed him as King Xiang of the state of Qi. After King Xiang came into power, he designated the daughter of the Taishis as queen. She gave birth to their son—Jian. Taishi Jiao declared, "Instead of marrying through a matchmaker, she married out of her own free will. I will no longer regard her as my daughter. I feel disgraced for this reason." Then he refused to see his daughter again for the rest of his life. The queen—Jun Wanghou—was a very worthy person. So



【原文】

矣！”终身不睹。君王后贤，不以不睹之故失人子之礼也。

襄王卒，子建立为齐王。君王后事秦谨，与诸侯信，以故建立四十有余年不受兵。秦始皇尝使使者遗君王后玉连环，曰：“齐多知，而解此环不？”君王后以示群臣，群臣不知解。君王后引椎椎破之，谢秦使曰：“谨以解矣。”

及君王后病，且卒，诫建曰：“群臣之可用者某。”建曰：“请书之。”君王后曰：“善。”取笔牍受言，君王后曰：“老妇已亡矣！”君王后死，后后胜相齐，多受秦间金玉，使宾客入秦，皆为变辞，劝王朝秦，不修攻战之备。

【今译】

儿。君王后很贤惠，不因为父亲不再见自己就不行做人子女的礼节。

襄王死后，太子建被立为齐王。君王后谨慎地侍奉秦国，跟各国诸侯交往都非常诚信，因此建继承王位后四十多年都没有遭受别国入侵。秦始皇曾经派使者送给君王后一个玉连环，说：“齐国有很多非常聪明的人，能解开这个环吗？”君王后把这个玉连环拿给群臣看，群臣都不知道怎么解开它。君王后拿起一把锤子把它敲破了，向秦国使者道歉说：“我小心翼翼地解开它了。”

等到君王后病重，将要死了，她告诫建说：“群臣之中可以重用的有哪些人。”建说：“请把他们的名字写下来吧。”君王后说：“好吧。”取来笔和竹简准备记录她的话，君王后说：“我已经忘记要说什么了。”君王后死了。后来后胜做了齐国的相国，接受了秦国离间之人的很多黄金美玉，派宾客到秦国去，回来汇报的时候都不说实话，劝说齐王朝拜秦王，不作攻战的准备。



she still treated Taishi Jiao according to the rules of propriety stipulated for children even though she never saw him again.

After King Xiang died, Jian was enthroned to be the new king of the state of Qi. Jun Wanghou was very careful in dealing with the state of Qin and very honest with other states' sovereigns. Accordingly, the state of Qi was free from aggression for more than forty years after Jian's enthronement. Emperor Qin Shihuang once sent an emissary to present Jun Wanghou with a set of jade puzzle rings and send a message as follows: "There are a lot of very intelligent people in the state of Qi. Can you untie these rings?" Jun Wanghou showed her high-ranking court officials the puzzle rings, but no one knew how to untie them. Jun Wanghou fetched a pestle and broke the rings. Then she apologized to the emissary from Qin, "Now I have untied them carefully."

When Jun Wanghou was dying, she warned Jian, "Among the high-ranking court officials, you can rely on..." Jian said, "Please let me write it down." Jun Wanghou said, "Fine." After Jian had brush and bamboo slips prepared, Jun Wanghou said, "I have forgotten those names." After Jun Wanghou died, Hou Sheng became prime minister of the state of Qi. Hou Sheng accepted huge amounts of gold and jade from the spies of the state of Qin aimed at alienating the relationship between Jian and his inferiors. If emissaries were sent to Qin, they didn't report the truth to Jian when they returned. They persuaded Jian to submit to Qin's king. As a result, all the defence installations in Qi were neglected.



齐王建入朝于秦

【原文】

齐王建入朝于秦，雍门司马前曰：“所为立王者，为社稷耶？为王立王耶？”王曰：“为社稷。”司马曰：“为社稷立王，王何以去社稷而入秦？”齐王还车而反。

即墨大夫与雍门司马谏而听之，则以为可（可）[与]为谋，即入见齐王，曰：“齐地方数千里，带甲数百万。夫三晋大夫皆不便秦，而在阿、鄆之间者百数，王收而与之百万之众，使收三晋之故地，即临晋之关可以入矣；鄆郢大夫不欲为秦，而在城南下者百数，王收而与之百万之师，使

【今译】

齐王建要到秦国去朝拜秦王，雍门司马拦在齐王面前说：“之所以把大王立为王，是为了国家呢，还是为了大王自己呢？”齐王说：“为国家。”司马说：“既然是为国家而立王，大王为什么离开自己的国家到秦国去？”齐王调转车子回来了。

即墨大夫和雍门司马进谏而被听从了，就以为可以为齐王出谋划策，于是就入宫谒见齐王，说：“齐国拥有方圆几千里的土地，有几百万的武装军队。韩国、赵国和魏国的大夫们都跟秦国作对，处在阿与鄆之间的有几百人，大王拉拢他们并且给他们一百万军队，使他们能够收复韩国、赵国和魏国的故地，那样就可以攻入临近韩国、赵国和魏国的关隘了。鄆与郢的大夫不想为秦国谋利的，住在南城附近的有几百人，大王拉拢他们并且给他们一百万大军，使他们能够收复楚国故地，那样就



Jian, the King of Qi, Went to Show Reverence to Qin's King

Jian, the king of the state of Qi, planned to go to the state of Qin to show reverence to Qin's king. The Minister of War Safeguarding Yongmen stopped him and said, "Do you think you have been enthroned for the benefit of our state or for your own benefit?" The king said, "For the sake of our state." The Minister of War said, "Since you have been enthroned for the sake of our state, why are you going to leave our state for Qin then?" The king turned his carriage and returned home.

The Chief Official of Jimo and the Minister of War Safeguarding Yongmen remonstrated with the king and the king took their advice. Therefore, they thought that they could make plan for the king. So they went to the palace to see the king and said, "Our state owns several thousand square *li* of land and millions of armed soldiers. All the high-ranking court officials of Han, Zhao and Wei, the three states belonging to the former Jin, are hostile towards the state of Qin. Several hundred of them are now living in the area between A and Juan. If Your Majesty can win them over, present them with one million soldiers and thus let them reoccupy the territory seized from them by Qin, we can break through the fortifications along the borders of those three states. All the high-ranking court officials of Yan and Ying are against the state of Qin. Several hundred of them are now living near Nancheng. If Your Majesty can win them over, present them with one million soldiers, they can reoccupy the



【原文】

收楚故地，即武关可以入矣。如此，则齐威可立，秦国可亡。夫舍南面之称制，乃西面而事秦，为大王不取也！”齐王不听。

秦使陈驰诱齐王，内之，约与五百里之地。齐王不听即墨大夫而听陈驰，遂入秦。处之共松柏之间，饿而死。先是，齐为之歌曰：“松邪！柏邪！住建共者，客耶？”

【今译】

可以攻入武关了。这样一来，齐国的威势就可以确立，秦国就能被消灭。舍弃面向南方发号施令的机会而向西侍奉秦王，我们认为大王这么做是不可取的。”齐王没有听从。

秦王派陈驰引诱齐王到秦国，许诺送给他五百里的土地。齐王不听从即墨大夫的劝告而听信了陈驰，于是就去了秦国。秦国把他囚禁在共地的松树、柏树之间，饿死了。在他被饿死之前，齐国人为此作了一首歌：“松树？柏树？让建住在共的，是说客！”

齐以淖君之乱(仇)秦

【原文】

齐以淖君之乱(仇)秦。其后秦欲取齐，故使苏涓之楚，令任固之齐。齐明谓楚王曰：“秦王欲楚，不若其欲齐之甚也。其使涓来，以示齐

【今译】

齐国因为淖齿的叛乱而仇恨秦国。后来秦国想跟齐国交好，所以派苏涓到楚国，让任固到齐国。齐明对楚王说：“秦王想跟楚国结交的



territory seized from the state of Chu by the state of Qin, and we can break through the Wuguan Fort. If this is the case, the power and authority of our state can be established, and the state of Qin can be destroyed. Giving up the opportunity of facing south to issue orders to other states and going to the west to show your reverence to the king of the state of Qin are unadvisable!" The king didn't listen to them.

Promising to cede five hundred square *li* of land to the state of Qi, the king of the state of Qin had Chen Chi deceive the king of Qi into entering his state. The king of Qi overlooked the advice of the Chief Official of Jimo and the Minister of War Safeguarding Yongmen, and followed Chen Chi to Qin. He was detained among some pines and cypresses in Gong and then starved to death there. Before he died, the people of the state of Qi sang a song as follows: "Pines? Cypresses? The one who has detained Jian in Gong is a persuader!"

Qi Was Hostile Towards Qin Because of the Rebellion Stirred Up by Zhuo Chi

Owing to the rebellion stirred up by Zhuo Chi, the state of Qi was hostile towards the state of Qin. After some time, the king of the state of Qin wanted to establish good relations with the state of Qi, so he sent Su Juan to the state of Chu and Ren Gu to the state of Qi on diplomatic missions to establish ties with them. Qi Ming had a talk with the king of the state of Chu and said, "Rather than establishing



【原文】

之有楚，以资固于齐。齐见楚，必受固。是王之听涓也，适为固驱以合齐、秦也。齐、秦合，非楚之利也。且夫涓来之辞，必非固之所以之齐之辞也。王不如令人以涓来之辞谩固于齐，齐、秦必不合。齐、秦不合，则王重矣。王欲收齐以攻秦，汉中可得也。王即欲以秦攻齐，淮泗之间亦可得也。”

【今译】

心意比不上跟齐国交好的愿望迫切。他派苏涓来这里，是向齐国显示秦国与楚国交好了，以此来帮助任固在齐国的行动。齐国发觉楚国和秦国亲善，一定会接受任固的条件。大王听从苏涓的建议，恰好能为任固促成齐国跟秦国的交好。齐国和秦国亲善，对楚国不利。再说苏涓在我们这里所说的话一定跟任固在齐国说的话不一样。大王不如用苏涓在我们这里所说的一番话到齐国离间任固，那样齐国和秦国就一定不能交好。齐国和秦国不能亲善，大王的地位就会非常重要了。大王如果想拉拢齐国来进攻秦国，就能占领汉中；大王如果想拉拢秦国来进攻齐国，也可以得到淮河和泗水之间的土地。”



diplomatic relations with our state, the king of Qin wishes more sincerely to build up ties with the state of Qi. The reason why he has sent Su Juan here lies in the fact that he wants to show Qi that he has won over our state and thus facilitate Ren Gu's diplomatic activities in the state of Qi. If the king of Qi realizes that Qin has established good relations with our state, he will definitely follow Ren Gu's advice and fulfill his demands. Therefore, if Your Majesty take Su Juan's advice, you are only helping Ren Gu build up ties between Qi and Qin. If Qi and Qin are close to each other, it is disadvantageous to our state. Su Juan's diplomacy must be different from that of Ren Gu which is employed in the state of Qi. It would be better if Your Majesty use Su Juan's diplomacy to alienate Ren Gu in the state of Qi. Then Qi and Qin certainly won't establish good relations between each other. If this is the case, you will become very influential. If you want to ally with the state of Qi to attack the state of Qin, you can obtain the region of Hanzhong. If you hope to unite with the state of Qin to invade the state of Qi, you can also seize from Qi the areas between the Huai River and the Sishui River. "



卷十四 楚 一

齐楚构难

【原文】

齐、楚构难，宋请中立。齐急宋，宋许之。子象为楚谓宋王曰：“楚以缓失宋，将法齐之急也。齐以急得宋，后将常急矣。是从齐而攻楚，未必利也。齐战胜楚，势必危宋；不胜，是以弱宋干强楚也。而令两万乘之国，常以急求所欲，国必危矣！”

【今译】

齐国和楚国交战，宋国请求中立。齐国紧急催逼宋国支援，宋国答应了。子象为楚国对宋王说：“楚国因为行动迟缓失掉了宋国的援助，将会效法齐国，紧急催逼宋国。齐国因为紧急催逼而得到了宋国的援助，以后将会经常催逼的。跟随齐国进攻楚国，未必就对宋国有利。假如齐国战胜楚国，势必会对宋国构成威胁；如果不能战胜，就是用弱小的宋国来对抗强大的楚国啊。而让两个拥有一万辆战车的大国经常紧急催逼宋国来满足自己的愿望，宋国必定会陷入危机！”

五国约以伐齐

【原文】

五国约以伐齐。昭阳谓楚王曰：“五国已破齐，秦必南图。”楚王曰：

【今译】

燕、韩、赵、魏和秦五个国家联合起来进攻齐国。昭阳对楚王说：



Book 14

The First Volume on Chu

The Troops of Qi Engaged Those of Chu in a War

The troops of the state of Qi engaged the troops of the state of Chu in a war. The state of Song remained neutral. Qi quickly forced Song to join it in attacking Chu, and Song promised to do so. On behalf of the state of Chu, Zi Xiang went to consult the king of the state of Song and said, "The state of Chu lost Song's support because it didn't take action as quickly as the state of Qi. So Chu will follow Qi's example in the future. Qi won over Song's reinforcements because it fiercely coerced you to join it. It will keep on coercing you in future. Joining Qi in attacking Chu probably won't benefit your state. If Qi defeats Chu, Song will definitely be in danger. If Qi is defeated, your weak state will confront the strong and powerful Chu on Qi's behalf. As to these two big states that possess ten thousand chariots each, you will give them the chance to coerce you to act according to their dictates. Then your own state will definitely be under severe threat."

Five States Built Up an Alliance to Attack Qi

Five states—Yan, Han, Zhao, Wei, and Qin built up allied forces to attack the state of Qi. Zhao Yang told the king



【原文】

“然则奈何？”对曰：“韩氏，辅国也，好利而恶难。好利，可营也；恶难，可惧也。我厚赂之以利，其心必营；我悉兵以临之，其心必惧我。彼惧吾兵而营我利，五国之事必可败也。约绝之后，虽勿与地，可。”

楚王曰：“善。”乃命大公事之韩，见公仲曰：“夫牛阑之事，马陵之难，亲（王）[主]之所见也。（王）[主]苟无以五国用兵，请效列城五，请悉楚国之众也，以庸于齐。”

（齐）[韩]之反赵、魏之后，而楚果弗与地，则五国之事困也。

【今译】

“五国联军攻破齐国以后，秦国一定会向南图谋楚国。”楚王说：“那该怎么办？”昭阳回答说：“韩国是个立场不坚定的国家，贪图利益而厌恶困难。贪图利益，就可以诱惑它；厌恶困难，就可以恐吓它。我们用重利贿赂它，它一定会被迷惑；我们派出全部军队威逼它，它一定会很惊恐。它害怕我们的兵力而且被我们的利益所诱惑，那五国的事情必定可以败坏了。它们的联盟被切断以后，即使不给韩国土地，也是可以的。”

楚王说：“好主意。”于是就命令大公事到韩国去拜见韩相公仲，说：“牛阑和马陵的战事，您是亲眼所见的。您如果不参与五国的军事行动，请让我献上五座城邑，并且动用楚国全部的兵力来图谋齐国。”

韩国跟赵国和魏国断绝关系以后，楚国果然不给韩国土地，五国联合的事也因而受阻。



of the state of Chu, "After the allied forces of these five states defeat the state of Qi, the state of Qin will definitely send troops to the south to attack our state." The king of Chu asked, "What shall we do then?" Zhao Yang replied, "The state of Han can't hold an unalterable standpoint. It is greedy and dislikes dealing with difficulties. Because it is greedy, we can cheat it. Because it dislikes dealing with difficulties, we can terrify it. Surely it can be won over if we provide it with generous gifts. Certainly it can be scared if we dispatch our military forces against it. If it is scared by our military forces and tempted by our generous gifts, we can definitely damage the schemes of these five states. After the relationship among these states deteriorates, we can refuse to give Han the land we have promised without facing any problem."

The king of Chu said, "Good idea." Then he sent Dagong Shi to the state of Han to see Gong Zhong, the prime minister of Han, and tell him, "You have experienced personally both the wars fought in Niulan and in Maling. If you don't join the allied forces in taking military action against the state of Qi, I will cede five cities to you. And please allow us to send all the officers and men of our state to invade the state of Qi."

After Han cut off its diplomatic ties with the states of Zhao and Wei, Chu as expected refused to present Han with the land it had promised. As a result, the five allied states' plan for taking military action against Qi was destroyed.

荆宣王问群臣

【原文】

荆宣王问群臣曰：“吾闻北方之畏昭奚恤也，果诚何如？”群臣莫对。江一对曰：“虎求百兽而食之，得狐。狐曰：‘子无敢食我也。天帝使我长百兽，今子食我，是逆天帝之命也。子以我为不信，我为子先行，子随我后，观百兽之见我而敢不走乎？’虎以为然，故遂与之行。兽见之，皆走。虎不知兽畏己而走也，以为畏狐也。今王之地方五千里，带甲百万，而专属之于昭奚恤，故北方之畏奚恤也，其实畏王之甲兵也，犹百兽之畏虎也。”

【今译】

楚宣王问群臣说：“我听说北方的国家都害怕昭奚恤，果真如此吗？”众位大臣都没有回答。江乙回答道：“老虎捕捉各类野兽来充饥，抓到了一只狐狸。狐狸说道：‘你不敢吃我。天帝派我来做百兽的首领，如果你现在把我吃掉，就违背了天帝的命令。如果你不相信我的话，我在前面走，你在后面跟着我，看看其他野兽见到我有敢不逃跑的吗？’老虎觉得狐狸的话有道理，于是就跟它一起行走。野兽见到它们都逃走了。老虎不知道其他野兽是因为害怕自己才逃走的，以为它们害怕的是狐狸。如今大王的国家方圆五千里，有一百万军队，而这些统统归昭奚恤掌管。所以北方的国家害怕昭奚恤，其实是害怕大王您的军事实力，跟其他野兽害怕的是老虎一样。”

昭奚恤与彭城君议于王前

【原文】

昭奚恤与彭城君议于王前，王召江乙而问焉。江乙曰：“二人之言

【今译】

昭奚恤跟彭城君在楚王面前争论。楚王召见江乙来询问他的意





King Xuan of Chu Asked His Court Officials

King Xuan of Chu asked his court officials, "I heard that all the northern states are afraid of Zhao Xixu. Is that true?" No one replied. Then Jiang Yi said, "Once a tiger was hunting for quarry and caught a fox. The fox said, 'You don't dare eat me. God has sent me here to be the leader of all the animals. If you eat me, you will go against God's order. If you don't believe me, I will walk in front of you and you can follow me to find out whether or not other animals all flee when they see me?' The tiger regarded the fox's words reasonable and then followed him. The animals all fled when they saw the two of them. The tiger didn't know that the animals fled in fear of him, but thought they were afraid of the fox. Now your territory is as big as five thousand *li*. You also have one million armed soldiers. They are both under Zhao Xixu's firm control. So, the northern states feel afraid of Zhao Xixu. But in fact, they fear the military force of Your Majesty just as all the other animals were terrified by the tiger."

Zhao Xixu and Lord Pengcheng Argued with Each Other in Front of the King

Zhao Xixu and Lord Pengcheng argued with each other in front of the king of the state of Chu. The king called in Jiang Yi to ask for his opinion about the dispute. Jiang Yi said,



【原文】

皆善也，臣不敢言其后。此谓虑贤也。”

【今译】

见。江乙说：“他们两人所说的都很有道理，我不敢在背后作任何评论，否则这就是所谓的非议贤人。”

邯鄲之難

【原文】

邯鄲之難，昭奚恤謂楚王曰：“王不如無救趙，而以強魏。魏強，其割趙必深矣。趙不能听，則必堅守，是兩弊也。”景舍曰：“不然！昭奚恤不知也。夫魏之攻趙也，恐楚之攻其後。今不救趙，趙有亡形，而魏無楚憂，是楚、魏共趙也，（害）[割]必深矣，何以兩弊也？且魏（令）[全]兵以深割趙，趙（見）[有]亡形而（有）[見]楚之不救己也，必與魏合，而以謀楚。故王不如少出兵，以為趙援。趙恃楚勁，必與魏戰。魏怒于趙之

【今译】

邯鄲一戰中，昭奚恤對楚王說：“大王不如不營救趙國，從而來增強魏國。魏國實力增強了，一定會從趙國割取很多土地。趙國不能答應，就必定會堅守。這樣一來，它們就會兩敗俱傷了。”景舍說：“不是這樣的！昭奚恤不明智啊。魏國進攻趙國，最担心的就是楚國從後面進攻它。如今不營救趙國，趙國面臨着被消滅的形勢，而魏國又沒有楚國進攻的憂慮，這樣一來，就是楚國跟魏國一起進攻趙國，趙國必定要割讓很多的土地，怎麼會兩敗俱傷呢？再說魏國出動所有軍隊來多多割取趙國的土地，趙國即將滅亡而發覺楚國不來營救自己，必定會跟魏國聯合，從而一起來圖謀楚國。所以大王不如派出一小部分軍隊來援救趙



"Both their arguments sound very reasonable. I dare not criticize them. Otherwise I will be accused of libelling the worthy."

The War in Handan

The troops of the state of Wei attacked the capital of Handan of the state of Zhao. Zhao Xixu told the king of the state of Chu, "Your Majesty, you'd better not help the state of Zhao so as to strengthen the state of Wei. If Wei is strengthened, it will definitely demand a lot of territory from Zhao. However, Zhao won't agree to do that. It will defend its land boldly. As a result, both the two states will become exhausted." Jing She said, "That's wrong! Zhao Xixu is not wise at all. When the troops of the state of Wei attack the state of Zhao, the only thing worrying Wei is that our state might dispatch our army to attack its troops in the rear. Now if we refuse to assist Zhao, Zhao will soon be defeated. However, Wei is free from any problem caused by our state. So it means that Chu and Wei are attacking Zhao together. Zhao will be forced to cede a lot of land as a result. How can Wei and Zhao both become exhausted then? Moreover, Wei will dispatch its troops to seize more territory from Zhao. Zhao will realize that it will soon be defeated and the state of Chu won't send any reinforcements to its rescue, so it will unite with Wei to scheme against Chu. Hence, it would be better if Your Majesty only send a small number of soldiers to reinforce the troops of the state of Zhao. Relying on the



【原文】

劲，而见楚救之不足畏也，必不释赵。赵、魏相弊，而齐、秦应楚，则魏可破也。”

楚因使景舍起兵救赵。邯郸拔，楚取睢、濊之间。

【今译】

国。赵国倚仗楚国的势力，一定会跟魏军交战。魏国会因为赵国顽强抵抗而感到恼火，然而当它发觉楚国的救兵不值得畏惧时，一定不会放过赵国。赵国和魏国互相把对方弄得疲惫不堪，而齐国和秦国会跟楚国联合起来，那样就可以攻破魏国了。”

于是楚王派景舍率领军队营救赵国。魏国军队攻下邯郸后，楚国占领了睢与濊之间的土地。

江尹欲恶昭奚恤于楚王

【原文】

江尹欲恶昭奚恤于楚王，而力不能，故为梁山阳君请封于楚。楚王曰：“诺。”昭奚恤曰：“山阳君无功于楚国，不当封。”江尹因得山阳君与之共恶昭奚恤。

【今译】

江乙打算在楚王面前说昭奚恤的坏话，但是力所不及，所以就替魏国的山阳君向楚国请求封地。楚王说：“好吧。”昭奚恤说：“山阳君对于楚国没有任何功劳，不应该分封给他土地。”于是江乙得以跟山阳君一起诋毁昭奚恤。

魏氏恶昭奚恤于楚王

【原文】

魏氏恶昭奚恤于楚王，楚王告昭子。昭子曰：“臣朝夕以事听命，而

【今译】

魏国人在楚宣王面前说昭奚恤的坏话，楚宣王告诉了昭奚恤。昭



might of our state, Zhao will definitely engage the troops of Wei. Wei will be provoked because of Zhao's fierce resistance. When Wei realizes that the reinforcements of our state cannot pose any real threat to it, it will definitely not stop attacking Zhao. Thus Zhao and Wei will exhaust each other. Under such circumstances, if the states of Qi and Qin join us in invading Wei, Wei will be defeated."

The king of Chu then appointed Jing She to lead some troops to help Zhao. After the troops of Wei occupied the capital of Handan of the state of Zhao, the troops of Chu took over the region between Sui and Hui from the state of Wei.

Jiang Yi Planned to Slander Zhao Xixu in Front of Chu's King

Jiang Yi planned to slander Zhao Xixu in front of the king of the state of Chu but could not do so. So he asked Chu to confer some land on Lord Shanyang of the state of Wei. The king of Chu said, "All right." Zhao Xixu said, "Lord Shanyang is not beneficial to our state at all. We shouldn't confer land on him." As a result, Jiang Yi won over Lord Shanyang so that they could slander Zhao Xixu together.

A Man from Wei Spoke Ill of Zhao Xixu in Front of Chu's King

A man from the state of Wei spoke ill of Zhao Xixu in front of King Xuan of the state of Chu. The king told Zhao



【原文】

魏人吾君臣之间，臣大惧。臣非畏魏也，夫泄吾君臣之交，而天下信之，是其为人也近苦矣。夫苟不难为之外，岂忘为之内乎？臣之得罪无日矣。”王曰：“寡人知之，大夫何患？”

【今译】

奚恤说：“我从早到晚侍奉大王，唯命是从，而魏国却想离间我们君臣之间的关系，我非常恐惧。我并非害怕魏国人。他们泄露我们君臣之间的内情，让其他国家相信他们的话，他们的为人怎么如此险恶呢？如果一个外国人都能轻易地这么做，国内的人难道会忘记加害于我吗？我没几天就会获罪了。”楚宣王说：“我知道的，大人担心什么呢？”

江乙恶昭奚恤

【原文】

江乙恶昭奚恤，谓楚王曰：“人有以其狗为有执而爱之。其狗尝溺井，其邻人见狗之溺井也，欲人言之。狗恶之，当门而噬之。邻人惮之，遂不得入言。邯郸之难，楚进兵大梁，取矣。昭奚恤取魏之宝器，以居魏知之，故昭奚恤常恶臣之见王。”

【今译】

江乙很讨厌昭奚恤，对楚宣王说：“有个人认为自己的狗看家很好，就很喜欢那条狗。他的狗曾经往井里撒尿，他的邻居看见狗往井里撒尿，就想进门跟他说这事。狗很讨厌这个邻居，堵在门口咬他。邻居很害怕，于是没能进去说明这件事。邯郸之战，楚国军队进攻大梁，攻克了它。昭奚恤从魏国获取了很多宝物，我因为当时住在魏国，所以知道这件事，因此昭奚恤常常讨厌我来谒见大王。”



Xixu about it. Zhao Xixu said, "I serve you and carry out your orders from morning till night. However, this person from Wei is trying to alienate us. I am terrified by this. Nonetheless, I am not afraid of Wei. This man is going to tell the relationship between Your Majesty and me, your high-ranking court official, to other states. How vicious he is! If a foreigner can do that so easily, how can our citizens forget to do harm to me? I know I will be accused of some fabricated sins soon." King Xuan of Chu said, "Don't worry, master. I understand."

Jiang Yi Disliked Zhao Xixu

Jiang Yi disliked Zhao Xixu, and he told King Xuan of Chu, "Once a man cherished his dog very much because he believed this dog always guarded his house dutifully. The dog used to urinate into the well. His neighbour witnessed this and was going to enter his house to inform him about it. However, the dog disliked the neighbour. It blocked the door and bit him. The neighbour was afraid of the dog and could not enter the house to inform the host. During the war in Handan, we sent troops to attack the capital of Liang and occupied it. Then Zhao Xixu kept many treasures from Wei to himself. I know that because I was living in Wei at that time. So, Zhao Xixu is always unhappy with me every time I want to meet you (because he fears that I might disclose this secret)."



江乙欲恶昭奚恤于楚

【原文】

江乙欲恶昭奚恤于楚，谓楚王曰：“下比周，则上危；下分争，则上安。王亦知之乎？愿王勿忘也。且人有好扬人之善者，于王何如？”王曰：“此君子也，近之。”江乙曰：“有好扬人之恶者，于王何如？”王曰：“此小人也，远之。”江乙曰：“然则且有子杀其父、臣弑其主者，而王终已不知者，何也？以王好闻人之美，而恶闻人之恶也。”王曰：“善。寡人愿两闻之。”

【今译】

江乙打算在楚国诋毁昭奚恤，对楚王说：“下面的人朋党比周，君主就危险了；下面的人互相纷争，君主就安全了。大王也知道这个说法吗？希望大王不要忘记了！有人喜欢宣扬别人的善行，大王认为这人怎么样？”楚王说：“这是个君子，应亲近他。”江乙说：“有人喜欢宣扬别人的缺点，大王认为这人怎么样？”楚王说：“这是个小人，应疏远他。”江乙说：“既然如此，有人作为儿子，将杀死自己的父亲，作为臣子，将谋杀自己的君主，然而大王却终生都没有意识到，是什么原因？是因为大王喜欢听别人的优点，而讨厌听别人的缺点。”楚王说：“说得好。我希望两方面的话都听听。”

江乙说于安陵君

【原文】

江乙说于安陵君曰：“君无咫尺之（地）[功]、骨肉之亲，处尊位，受厚禄，一国之众，见君莫不敛衽而拜，抚委而服，何以也？”曰：“王过举而

【今译】

江乙劝说安陵君道：“您没有半点功劳，跟楚王也不是骨肉同胞，却处在尊贵的位子上，享受着优厚的俸禄，楚国所有的人见到您，都得提起衣襟下拜、抚平衣冠致敬，为什么会这样呢？”安陵君说：“不过是大王



Jiang Yi Planned to Make Zhao Xixu Notorious in Chu

Jiang Yi planned to make Zhao Xixu notorious in the state of Chu, so he had a talk with the king of Chu and said, "If the inferiors build up cliques, the sovereign will be in danger. If the inferiors vie with each other for power and wealth, the sovereign is secure. Have you ever heard of this? I hope that you don't forget it. If a person likes publicizing others' kind deeds, what do you think of that person?" The king said, "He is a gentleman. I will endear myself to him." Jiang Yi continued, "If a person likes exposing others' shortcomings, what do you think of him?" The king said, "This is a base man. I will alienate him." Jiang Yi said further, "However, there is someone here. As a son, he is going to kill his father, and as a high-ranking court official, he is going to murder his sovereign. But Your Majesty hasn't realized this during your lifetime. Why? Because you like hearing about others' kind deeds but hate listening to their shortcomings." The king said, "I see. In future, I would like to listen to both sides."

Jiang Yi Persuaded Lord Anling

Jiang Yi went to persuade Lord Anling and said, "You have made no contribution to the state at all. Neither are you closely related to the king. However, you are holding a very powerful position and enjoying a huge salary. People all over the state will roll up their clothes to bow to you and smarten

【原文】

已。不然，无以至此。”

江乙曰：“以财交者，财尽而交绝；以色交者，华落而爱渝。是以嬖女不敝席，宠臣不避轩。今君擅楚国之势，而无以深自结于王，窃为君危之。”安陵君曰：“然则奈何？”江乙曰：“愿君必请从死，以身为殉。如是，必长得重于楚国。”曰：“谨受令。”

三年而弗言。江乙复见曰：“臣所为君道，至今未效。君不用臣之计，臣请不敢复见矣。”安陵君曰：“不敢忘先生之言，未得间也。”

于是，楚王游于云梦，结驷千乘，旌旗蔽日，野火之起也若云蜺，兕虎咆哮之声若雷霆，有狂兕犛车依轮而至，王亲引弓而射，一发而殪。王

【今译】

过于抬举我罢了。不然的话，不会到这种程度。”

江乙说：“凭借着金钱跟人交往，钱花光了，交情也就到头了；凭借着美貌跟人交往，容貌衰败了，爱情也就转移了。所以受宠的女子不等座席磨破就被冷落了，受宠的臣子不等车子用坏就被疏远了。如今您独揽楚国的大权，却不能跟楚王结下很深的交情，我私下里替您感到危险。”安陵君说：“那我该怎么办呢？”“希望您一定要求跟随楚王一同赴死，为他殉葬，这样一来，就一定能在楚国长久地受到重用。”安陵君说：“我定会按照您教导的去做。”

安陵君三年没有跟楚王说这种话。江乙又见他说：“我所告诉您的话，至今都没有实现。您不采纳我的计策，我不敢再来见您了。”安陵君说：“我不敢忘记先生您所说的话，只是一直没有这样表白的机会啊。”

恰好赶上楚宣王到云梦游玩打猎，出动了一千辆由四匹马拉的车子，旌旗飘动，遮住了太阳，篝火升腾起来如同彩虹一般，犀牛、老虎咆哮的声音犹如响雷。有一头发疯的犀牛狂奔到楚宣王的车子旁边，楚宣王亲自拉弓射箭，一下就将它射死了。楚宣王抽出饰有旄牛尾的旗



themselves up to show respect to you. Why?" Lord Anling said, "Because the king overly favours me. If not, I wouldn't have been that powerful and highly respected."

Jiang Yi said, "If one associates with others because of money, the relationship will come to an end when his money runs out. If a woman satisfy a man with her beauty, the love will disappear when she is no longer pretty. Hence, a beloved woman will be estranged even before the mat she uses is worn out. A cherished court official will be alienated even before the carriage he takes is broken. Now you are taking firm control of the state of Chu. However, you don't have anything meaningful to win over the king. So I worry about you." Lord Anling asked, "What shall I do then?" "You should swear that you want to be buried alive along with the king when he passes away. Thus you can maintain your power for good." "I will follow your instructions."

Lord Anling did not declare that he would die for martyrdom within three years. Jiang Yi visited him again and said, "You haven't yet done what I had suggested to you. If you don't take my advice, I will never visit you again." Lord Anling said, "I dare not forget your instructions. However, I haven't had a chance to express that to the king."

Then King Xuan of Chu went hunting in Yunmeng. One thousand chariots were prepared and the banners on the chariots blocked the sun. The fires they built were like rainbows. Rhinoceros and tigers roared like thunder. Suddenly, a wild rhinoceros charged at the king's chariot. The king shot at it with an arrow in person and killed it on



【原文】

抽旃旄而抑兕首，仰天而笑曰：“乐矣，今日之游也！寡人万岁千秋之后，谁与乐此矣？”安陵君泣数行而进曰：“臣入则编席，出则陪乘。大王万岁千秋之后，愿得以身试黄泉、蓐蝼蚁，又何如得此乐而乐之？”王大说，乃封坛为安陵君。

君子闻之，曰：“江乙可谓善谋，安陵君可谓知时矣。”

【今译】

柄，按住犀牛的头，仰天大笑，说：“今天的游猎简直太痛快了！我去世以后，谁能跟我分享这种快乐呢？”安陵君潸然泪下，走近楚宣王身边，说：“大王在宫里的时候，我跟大王在同一张席子上就座；大王外出的时候，我同乘一辆车子陪伴您。大王去世的时候，我愿意一起去死，给大王做垫席，抵御蝼蛄与蚂蚁，还有什么比这样为大王效忠更让我感到快乐的呢？”楚宣王十分高兴，于是举行祭典封赏安陵君。

君子们听到这个故事，说：“江乙可以说是善于谋划的了，安陵君可以说是善于把握时机的了。”

江乙为魏使于楚

【原文】

江乙为魏使于楚，谓楚王曰：“臣入竟，闻楚之俗不蔽人之善、不言人之恶，诚有之乎？”王曰：“诚有之。”江乙曰：“然则白公之乱，得无遂

【今译】

江乙为魏国出使楚国，对楚王说：“我进入楚国境内的时候，听说楚国的风俗是不掩盖别人的优点、不宣扬别人的缺点，果真有这么回事吗？”楚王说：“果真如此。”江乙说：“既然如此，白公的叛乱怎能不得逞



the spot with one hit. The king drew out a banner handle decorated with yak tail and pressed the rhinoceros' head. Then he looked up towards the sky, laughed and said, "Today's hunting makes me so happy! However, who can join me in the other world after I die and share this pleasure with me?" Lord Anling cried, came over to the king and promised him, "I always sit close to you when we are at the palace and always sit in the same carriage to accompany you when we are out. When Your Majesty unfortunately passes away, I want to be buried alive to accompany you and serve as your mat to protect you from ants and mole crickets. Could anything be more joyful?" The king was very glad to hear his words. Then he levelled a place on the ground to hold a ceremony in the lord's honour.

When gentlemen heard of this story, they said, "Jiang Yi is really good at planning. And Lord Anling knows how and when to grasp the best opportunity."

On Behalf of Wei, Jiang Yi Was on a Diplomatic Mission to Chu

On behalf of the state of Wei, Jiang Yi was on a diplomatic mission to the state of Chu. He asked the king, "When I entered your state, I heard that according to the custom of your state, people don't cover up others' kindness, nor do they expose others' wickedness. Is that true?" The king said, "Yes, it is true." Jiang Yi said, "If this is the case, no wonder that Duke Bai had stirred up a



【原文】

乎？诚如是，臣等之罪免矣。”楚王曰：“何也？”江乙曰：“州侯相楚，贵甚矣而主断，左右俱曰‘无有’，如出一口矣。”

【今译】

呢？果真如此，大臣们的罪过都可以被赦免了。”楚王说：“为什么？”江乙说：“州侯做楚国的相国，地位极其尊贵而且独断专行，大王身边的人都说没有这么回事，如同出自一人之口啊。”

郢人有狱三年不决

【原文】

郢人有狱三年不决者，故令请其宅，以卜其罪。客因为之谓昭奚恤曰：“郢人某氏之宅，臣愿之。”昭奚恤曰：“郢人某氏，不当服罪，故其宅不得。”

客辞而去。昭奚恤已而悔之，因谓客曰：“奚恤得事公，公何为以故与奚恤？”客曰：“非用故也。”曰：“（谓）[请]而不得，有说色，非故如何也？”

【今译】

楚国郢都有一个人名的一件官司三年还没有判决，就特意安排一个人假装要买他的房子，来试探自己是否会被判有罪。一位客人因为这件事对昭奚恤说：“郢都某某人的房子，我想买下来。”昭奚恤说：“郢都的某某人不该被判有罪，所以您得不到他的房子。”

客人告辞走了。过了一会儿，昭奚恤后悔自己刚才说的话了，于是对客人说：“我为您做事，您为什么跟我玩花样？”客人说：“我没有玩什么花样啊。”昭奚恤说：“您请求买那房子而没有得逞，脸上有喜悦的神色，不是玩花样又是什么？”

城浑出周

【原文】

城浑出周，三人偶行，南游于楚，至于新城。城浑说其令曰：“郑、魏

【今译】

城浑离开周国，三人一起结伴同行，向南游历楚国，来到了新城。



rebellion successfully. If this is true, the sins of all your high-ranking court officials can be absolved." The king asked, "Why?" Jiang Yi replied, "When Marquis Zhou serves as prime minister of your state, he is extremely powerful and influential and governs the state tyrannically. However, all the people around you say with one voice that he doesn't act that way."

In the Capital of Ying, a Man's Lawsuit Had Not Been Dealt with for Three Years

Once there was a man in the capital of Ying, whose lawsuit was not decided in three years. He was not sure whether or not he would be declared guilty, so he pretended to sell his house to ascertain the verdict. A guest went to see Zhao Xixu for this reason and said, "I want to buy that person's house in Ying." Zhao Xixu said, "That person in Ying won't be convicted. So you cannot purchase his house."

Then the guest said good-bye to Zhao Xixu. Zhao Xixu regretted having disclosed that, so he asked the guest, "I am helping you. But why did you play double-dealing with me?" The guest said, "I didn't play double-dealing." Zhao Xixu said, "Well, you appeared happy on your face after I refused your request. Wasn't that double-dealing?"

Cheng Hun Left Zhou

Cheng Hun left the state of Zhou and travelled



【原文】

者，楚之软国；而秦，楚之强敌也。郑、魏之弱，而楚以上梁应之；宜阳之大也，楚以弱新城围之。蒲反、平阳相去百里，秦人一夜而袭之，安邑不知；新城、上梁相去五百里，秦人一夜而袭之，上梁亦不知也。今边邑之所恃者，非江南泗上也。故楚王何不以新城为主郡也？边邑甚利之。”

新城公大说，乃为具驷马乘车、五百金之楚。城浑得之，遂南交于楚，楚王果以新城为主郡。

【今译】

城浑对新城令说：“郑国和魏国跟楚国相比，是软弱的国家，而秦国是楚国的劲敌。郑国和魏国软弱，楚国可以用上梁来对付它们；宜阳是个大邑，楚国用弱小的新城来对付它。蒲反跟平阳之间相距一百里，秦国军队夜间来偷袭它们，安邑却不知道；新城跟上梁之间相距五百里，秦国军队夜间偷袭新城，上梁也不会知道。如今楚国所倚仗的边防城邑并非江南与泗上，所以楚王为什么不把新城设为边防重郡呢？这对边境地区是非常有利的。”

新城令非常高兴，于是为城浑准备了四匹马拉的车子、五百镒黄金，派他到楚都去。城浑得到这些资助，于是向南结交楚国，楚王果然把新城设为边防重郡。



southwards to the state of Chu along with two other persons. They arrived in Xincheng. Cheng Hun had a talk with the Chief Official of Xincheng and said, "The states of Zheng and Wei are weak compared with the state of Chu. On the other hand, the state of Qin is a powerful enemy of Chu. Zheng and Wei are weak, so Chu can use the forces of Shangliang to confront them. Yiyang is a large county, and Chu can use the weak city of Xincheng to confront it. Pufan and Pingyang are only one hundred *li* away from each other. However, if the troops of the state of Qin launched attacks on them at night, the people living in Anyi would not know about it. Xincheng is five hundred *li* away from Shangliang. If the troops of the state of Qin invade Xincheng at night, the people of Shangliang would not know either. Among all the border towns and cities, Chu cannot rely on Jiangnan and Sishang. Hence, why doesn't the king of Chu regard Xincheng as the main *Jun* (referring to a unit that was larger than a county but smaller than a province in ancient China) in the border area? If this were the case, all the border towns and cities would benefit." The Chief Official of Xincheng was very happy with this advice. So he prepared a carriage pulled by four horses along with five hundred *yi* of gold for Cheng Hun to visit the capital of Chu. After Cheng Hun received these gifts, he travelled to the south to consort with the state of Chu. The king of Chu announced Xincheng as the main *Jun* as expected.



韩公叔有齐魏

【原文】

韩公叔有齐、魏，而太子有楚、秦，以争国。郑申为楚使于韩，矫以新城、阳人予太子。楚王怒，将罪之。对曰：“臣矫予之，以为国也。臣为太子得新城、阳人，以与公叔争国而得之，齐、魏必伐韩。韩氏急，必悬命于楚，又何新城、阳人之敢求？太子不胜，然而不死，今将倒冠而至，又安敢言地？”楚王曰：“善。”乃不罪也。

【今译】

韩相国公叔赢得了齐国和魏国的支持，而太子有楚国和秦国的援助，两人争夺国家大权。郑申为楚国出使韩国，假传楚王的命令，把新城和阳人送给了韩国太子。楚王非常恼怒，将要治他的罪。郑申回答说：“我假传命令，把这两个地方给他，是为了我们的国家啊。我为太子获得了新城和阳人，来跟公叔争夺韩国。太子得到韩国，齐国和魏国一定会进攻韩国。韩国陷入危机，就一定会依附楚国，又怎敢索求新城和阳人呢？太子不能取胜，然而又没有被杀死，马上就会颠倒衣冠逃到这里，又怎敢谈论土地？”楚王说：“好。”于是没有治他的罪。



Gongshu of Han Won Over Qi and Wei

Gongshu, the prime minister of the state of Han, won over the support of the states of Qi and Wei. The crown prince of Han was supported by the states of Chu and Qin. The two of them were fighting each other for the authority over the state of Han. On behalf of the state of Chu, Zheng Shen was sent to the state of Han on a diplomatic mission. In the name of the king of the state of Chu, he issued a false order to bestow on the crown prince the areas of Xincheng and Yangren. The king of Chu was very angry with him and planned to punish him. Zheng Shen said, "I bestowed these areas on him only for the sake of our state. I think if the crown prince gains Xincheng and Yangren, they can help the crown prince in vying with Gongshu for power over the state. If he wins, Qi and Wei will definitely attack Han. Thus Han will be in danger and therefore will definitely appeal to our state for help. If this is the case, how dare he ask for Xincheng and Yangren from us? If the crown prince is defeated but doesn't lose his life during the fight, he will soon come here with his hat and clothes in disarray. How dare he then demand land?" The king of Chu said, "Very good." So he didn't punish Zheng Shen.



楚杜赫说楚王以取赵

【原文】

楚杜赫说楚王以取赵，王且予之五大夫，而令私行。

陈轸谓楚王曰：“赫不能得赵，五大夫不可收也，（得）[是]赏无功也。得赵而王无加焉，是无善也。王不如以十乘行之，事成，予之五大夫。”王曰：“善。”乃以十乘行之。

杜赫怒而不行。陈轸谓王曰：“是不能得赵也。”

【今译】

楚国的杜赫劝说楚王争取跟赵国结盟，楚王将要赐给他“五大夫”的封号，并且命令他秘密出使赵国。

陈轸对楚王说：“如果杜赫不能争取到赵国，又不可以收回‘五大夫’的封号，那就是赏赐没有功劳的人。如果争取到了赵国而大王不追加对他的赏赐，这就是不赏赐有功人员。大王不如让他带领十辆车子出使赵国，事情成功了，就封他为‘五大夫’。”楚王说：“好的。”于是让杜赫带上十辆车子去赵国。杜赫十分恼怒而不肯前往。陈轸对楚王说：“这是因为他不能争取到赵国啊！”

楚王问于范环

【原文】

楚王问于范环曰：“寡人欲置相于秦，孰可？”对曰：“臣不足以知之。”王曰：“吾相甘茂可乎？”范环对曰：“不可。”王曰：“何也？”曰：“夫史

【今译】

楚王问范环：“我想安排一个人做秦国的相国，找谁可以呢？”范环回答说：“我不知道这种事情。”楚王说：“我让甘茂做秦国相国，可以吗？”范环回答说：“不可以。”楚王问：“为什么？”范环说：“就说史举吧，



Du He of Chu Persuaded Chu's King to Establish Good Relations with Zhao

Du He, a person in the state of Chu, persuaded the king of Chu to establish good relations with the state of Zhao. The king planned to entitle him as Wudafu (referring to the title of the highest-ranking court official) and order him to visit Zhao secretly. However, Chen Zhen stopped the king and said, "If Du He cannot win over the state of Zhao, you cannot take back his title as Wu Da Fu. Thus you are rewarding people who make no contributions. If he wins over the state of Zhao and you don't bestow upon him more rewards, it is like refusing to reward the meritorious. It would be better if you present him with ten carriages to visit Zhao. If he succeeds, you can entitle him as Wudafu." The king said, "Good idea." Then he ordered Du He to visit Zhao along with ten carriages. Du He was angry and therefore refused to go to Zhao. Chen Zhen told the king, "Surely he cannot win over the state of Zhao."

Chu's King Asked Fan Huan a Question

The king of the state of Chu asked Fan Huan, "I am going to appoint someone to be prime minister of the state of Qin. Whom do you think I should appoint?" Fan Huan replied, "I am not wise enough to know the answer of this question." The king asked further, "Can I appoint Gan Mao to be Qin's prime minister?" Fan Huan replied, "No, you



【原文】

举，上蔡之监门也，大不知事君，小不知处室，以苛廉闻于世。甘茂事之，顺焉。故惠王之明，武王之察，张仪之好谮，甘茂事之，取十官而无罪。茂诚贤者也！然而不可相秦。秦之有贤相也，非楚国之利也。且王尝用滑于越而纳句章，昧之难，越乱，故楚南察濊胡而野江东。计王之功所以能如此者，越乱而楚治也。今王以用之于越矣，而忘之于秦，臣以为王钜速忘矣！王若欲置相于秦乎？若公孙郝者可。夫公孙郝之于秦王，亲也。少与之同衣，长与之同车，被王衣以听事，真大王之相

【今译】

他是上蔡的守门人，从大的方面讲不侍奉君主，从小的方面讲不知道治家，以苛刻廉洁闻名于世。甘茂侍奉他的时候也能顺应他的心意行事。所以，凭着秦惠王的英明、秦武王的明察、张仪的好诋毁别人，甘茂侍奉他们，历任十种官职而没有犯下任何罪过。甘茂是个贤人，然而不可以让他做秦国的相国。秦国拥有贤明的相国，对楚国是不利的。况且大王曾经任用召滑做越国的相国而取得了句章；昧地一战，越国大乱，所以楚军在濊胡取胜并且把江东设置为郡。估量大王的功绩，之所以能达到这个程度，是因为越国混乱而楚国治理得好的缘故。如今大王在越国推行了这一策略，却忘了在秦国推行它，我认为大王太健忘了。大王想安排人做秦国的相国吗？像公孙郝这个人就可以。公孙郝跟秦王的关系非常亲密。他小时候穿秦王的衣服，长大了坐秦王的车子，披着秦王的衣服来处理国事，这才真是大王所应任命的相国呢。大王任用



shouldn't appoint him." The king asked, "Why not?" Fan Huan said, "Shi Ju used to be the officer safeguarding the gate of the city of Shangcai. He didn't know how to serve the sovereign. Nor did he know how to treat his own family. He was known because of his rigour and probity. When Gan Mao served him, he would do anything according to Shi's will. Hence, although King Hui was wise, King Wu was astute, and Zhang Yi was inclined to slander others, when Gan Mao served these people, he took ten different positions without once offending them. Certainly Gan Mao is very worthy. However, you shouldn't appoint him to be prime minister of the state of Qin. If Qin has a worthy prime minister, it is very disadvantageous to our state. You appointed Zhao Hua to be prime minister of the state of Yue and as a result took over the region of Gouzhang. During the war in Mei, the state of Yue was in chaos. So the troops of Chu defeated Yue in Laihu and made Jiangdong a *Jun* of our state. The reason why Your Majesty's achievements have reached such a high level lies in the fact that the state of Yue was in chaos but our state was in perfect order. Your Majesty applied this policy in Yue but forgot to do so in Qin. I think you really have a short memory! Do you really want to appoint someone to be prime minister of the state of Qin? Then Gongsun Hao should be the correct one for this position. Gongsun Hao and the king of the state of Qin are close to each other. The king shared his clothes with Gongsun Hao during their childhood. After they grew up, they took the same carriage whenever they went out. Gongsun Hao wears the king's robes while handling



【原文】

已！王相之，楚国之大利也。”

【今译】

他为秦相，对楚国非常有利啊。”

苏秦为赵合从说楚威王

【原文】

苏秦为赵合从，说楚威王曰：“楚，天下之强国也；大王，天下之贤王也。楚地西有黔中、巫郡，东有夏州、海阳，南有洞庭、苍梧，北有汾陁之塞、郢阳。地方五千里，带甲百万，车千乘，骑万匹，粟支十年。此霸王之资也。夫以楚之强与大王之贤，天下莫能当也。今乃欲西面而事秦，则诸侯莫不南面而朝于章台之下矣！秦之所害于天下，莫如楚。楚强则秦弱，楚弱则秦强，此其势不两立。故为王至计，莫如从亲以孤秦。大王不从亲，秦必起两军：一军出武关，一军下黔中。若此，则鄢、郢动

【今译】

苏秦为赵国推行合纵的计策，游说楚威王说：“楚国是天下的强国，大王您是天下贤明的君主。楚国的土地，西面有黔中、巫郡，东面有夏州、海阳，南面有洞庭湖、苍梧山，北面有汾丘、陁山、郢阳等要塞。领土方圆五千里，有一百万武装的士卒、一千辆战车、一万匹战马，粮食足以支撑十年，这是成就王霸大业的资本。凭借着楚国的强大和大王的贤能，天下没有哪个国家可以匹敌。现在却打算向西侍奉秦国，那样各国诸侯就都将到西方去，在章台下面朝拜秦王了。天下各国中，秦国最担心的就是楚国。楚国强盛了，秦国就会衰弱；楚国衰弱了，秦国就会强盛。秦国跟楚国势不两立。所以为大王您着想，不如推行合纵的策略来孤立秦国。大王如果不合纵，秦国一定会派出两支军队：一支从武关



government affairs. He really is the right person for Your Majesty! If you appoint him to be Qin's prime minister, it will be a huge benefit to our state."

Su Qin Advocated Hezong on Behalf of Zhao and Went to Persuade King Wei of Chu

Su Qin advocated Hezong on behalf of Zhao and went to persuade King Wei of Chu. He said, "Chu is the most powerful state in the world. Your Majesty is a wise and capable sovereign. Chu has Qianzhong and Wujun in the west, Xiazhou and Haiyang in the east, the Dongting Lake and Mount Cangwu in the south, and the passes of Fenqiu, Mount Xing and Huanyang in the north. Chu owns five thousand square *li* of land, one million armed troops, one thousand chariots and ten thousand war horses. Moreover, your store of grain can support the state for ten years. Based on these factors, you can unify the whole world or at least establish one of the most powerful states. As for the might of Chu and the wisdom of Your Majesty, there is no match anywhere in the world. However, you are going to serve Qin. Thus all other states will go to the west to show their respect to Qin at Zhangtai. What the state of Qin fears most is Chu. If Chu is strengthened, Qin will be weakened. On the other hand, if Chu is weakened, Qin will be strengthened. These two states are at daggers drawn. Hence, the best thing for you is to carry out Hezong to isolate Qin. If not, Qin will dispatch two armies. One will be sent from Wuguan and the



【原文】

矣！臣闻，治之其未乱，为之其未有也；患至而后忧之，则无及已！故愿大王之早计之。

“大王诚能听臣，臣请令山东之国奉四时之献，以承大王之明制；委社稷宗庙，练士厉兵，在大王之所用之。大王诚能听臣之愚计，则韩、魏、齐、燕、赵、卫之妙音美人，必充后宫矣；赵、代良马橐他，必实于外厩。故从合则楚王，横成则秦帝。今释霸王之业，而有事人之名，臣窃为大王不取也。

“夫秦，虎狼之国也，有吞天下之心。秦，天下之仇雠也，横人皆欲割诸侯之地以事秦，此所谓养仇而奉雠者也。夫为人臣而割其主之地，以外交强虎狼之秦，以侵天下，卒有秦患，不顾其祸。夫外挟强秦之威

【今译】

出发，一支直捣黔中。这样一来，郢和郢就会动荡不安了。我听说，应当在国家没有出现动乱之前就把它治理好，在事情没有发生前就把它谋划好。等到祸患出现了再去担心，就来不及了。所以希望大王尽早考虑这件事。

“大王果真能听我的，我就让山东的国家进献四季时鲜的物产，奉行大王的指令，把国家委托给楚国，并训练自己的军队供大王调遣。大王果真能采纳我愚蠢的计策，那么韩国、魏国、齐国、燕国、赵国、卫国优美的音乐和美丽的女子一定会充满您的后宫，赵国和代郡出产的骏马和骆驼一定会挤满您的畜棚。所以，合纵成功了，楚国就会一统天下；连横成功了，秦王就会称帝。如今放弃了王霸大业，还有侍奉别国的名声，我私下为大王感到不可取。

“秦国是如同虎狼一般贪婪的国家，有着吞并天下的野心。秦国是天下各国共同仇恨的敌人，主张连横的人都想割让别的国家的土地来侍奉秦国，这就是所谓的秦养仇敌、侍奉仇敌啊。作为人臣而割让自己的君主的土地，来向外结交强大的虎狼一般的秦国，让它侵吞别的国



other will approach Qianzhong. As a result, the city of Yan and the capital of Ying will be in danger. I heard that one should keep the state in order before chaos occurs and be well prepared for things that might happen. If you start to worry after troubles come, it will be too late to take action. So I hope you make plans as early as possible."

Su Qin continued, "If you take my advice, I will ask all the states located east of Mount Xiao to offer their produce of all four seasons to you and carry out your orders. They will train their troops and have them ready to follow your orders. If you listen to me and use my tactics, you can enjoy fine tunes from the states of Han, Wei, Qi, Yan, Zhao and Wei. And your inner palace will also be crowded with beautiful women from these states. Moreover, all of your stalls will be full of swift horses and camels from Zhao and Dai. So, if Hezong is carried out successfully, Chu will unify the world. If Lianheng is put into practice, Qin will become the ruler. Now you are planning to give up this great chance to establish the most powerful state or unify the world, and submit to Qin's authority. I personally think it will be an unwise policy of Your Majesty."

Su Qin said further, "Qin is as covetous and brutal as tigers and wolves and wants to annex all the states in the world. Qin is the common enemy of all states. Those who advocate Lian Heng all want to cede some land to Qin to serve it. That's simply supporting and serving the enemy. As for those court officials, they want to cede some land to Qin and thus consort with the greedy Qin and help it annex other



【原文】

以内劫其主，以求割地，大逆不忠，无过此者。故从亲，则诸侯割地以事楚；横合，则楚割地以事秦。此两策者，相去远矣，有亿兆之数！两者大王何居焉？故弊邑赵王使臣效愚计、奉明约，在大王命之。”

楚王曰：“寡人之国，西与秦接境，秦有举巴蜀、并汉中之心。秦，虎狼之国，不可亲也。而韩、魏迫于秦患，不可与深谋，恐反（人）以入于秦，故谋未发而国已危矣。寡人自料，以楚当秦，未见胜焉；内与群臣谋，不足恃也。寡人卧不安席，食不甘味，心摇摇如悬旌而无所终薄。今君欲一天下，安诸侯，存危国，寡人谨奉社稷以从。”

【今译】

家。如果秦国突然入侵，他们就不顾本国遭受的灾祸。在外面凭借着强大的秦国的威势，在国内要挟自己的君主，来求得割让给秦国土地，再没有比这更大逆不道、不忠于自己的国家的了。所以，合纵成功了，诸侯就会割让土地来侍奉楚国；连横成功了，楚国就会割让土地来侍奉秦国。这两个计策相差得太远了，相差有亿兆的距离。在这两者之间，大王如何作出选择呢？所以我们赵王派我来献上自己愚蠢的计策、奉上明确的誓约，全凭大王您下令了。”

楚威王说：“我的国家西边跟秦国接壤，秦国有攻打巴、蜀，吞并汉中的野心。秦国是虎狼一般贪婪残暴的国家，不能跟它亲近。而韩国和魏国受到秦国的威胁，不可以跟它们谋划大事，恐怕反叛的人会把楚国的谋略告诉给秦国，从而谋略还没有实施，国家就已经陷入危险境地了。我自己认为，凭楚国跟秦国抗衡，不见得能够取胜。在国内跟大臣们一起谋划，他们又不足以依靠。我睡觉也不安稳，吃饭也不香，心神不宁，无所适从。如今您有意一统天下，安定诸侯，使濒临危亡的国家得以保全，我带领楚国服从您的安排。”



states. If Qin suddenly attacked their states, they would ignore the trouble suffered by their own states. With Qin's might, they can coerce their own sovereigns into conferring fiefs on them. Nothing could be more despicable and condemnable. Now, if Hezong is successfully practiced, other states will cede their territory to Chu. If Lianheng is carried out, Chu will cede its territory to Qin. These two tactics are greatly divergent with each other. Which one do you prefer? Therefore, our king sent me here to present my views and give you our pledge. It's all up to Your Majesty."

King Wei of Chu said, "My state shares the same border with Qin in the west. Qin is thinking of occupying Ba and Shu and annexing Hanzhong. Qin is very covetous and brutal and I don't feel close to it at all. However, Han and Wei are under Qin's threat, so I cannot make big plans with them. I am afraid that some traitors in those two states might inform Qin about it. As a result, my state will be in danger even before we take action. I think Chu might not be able to defeat Qin alone. And I cannot plan with my own court officials since I don't think they are that capable and reliable. Accordingly, I cannot sleep well at night. Nor can I enjoy my meals during the day. I feel uncertain and cannot rely on anything. Now you are going to unify the world, safeguard all the sovereigns and consolidate the threatened states. So I am going to lead my state to follow you."



张仪为秦破从连横

【原文】

张仪为秦破从连横，说楚王曰：“秦地半天下，兵敌四国，被山带河，四塞以为固。虎贲之士百余万，车千乘，骑万匹，粟如丘山。法令既明，士卒安难乐死，主严以明，将知以武。虽无出兵甲，席卷常山之险，折天下之脊，天下后服者先亡。且夫为从者，无以异于驱群羊而攻猛虎也。夫虎之与羊，不格明矣。今大王不与猛虎而与群羊，窃以为大王之计过矣！”

“凡天下强国，非秦而楚，非楚而秦。两国敌侔交争，其势不两立。”

【今译】

张仪为秦国破坏合纵、推行连横，他游说楚怀王说：“秦国拥有天下一半的土地，兵力可以抵御四方所有的国家，有大山环抱、大河环绕，四面都有险阻，非常稳固。秦国有一百多万勇猛善战的士卒，有一千辆战车、一万匹战马，粮食堆积如山。法令非常严明，士卒安于危难、乐于效死，君主威严而英明，将帅智慧而英勇。不出动军队则已，我们的军队只要一出动，就能一举攻克常山的险阻，斩断各国诸侯的要害，天下的国家哪个最后臣服，就会率先灭亡。至于那些主张合纵的人，无异于驱赶着一群羊去进攻猛虎。羊群斗不过猛虎，那是很显然的了。如今大王您不参与到猛虎这一边而与群羊为伍，我私下认为大王的谋划是错误的。”

“天下强大的国家，不是秦国就是楚国，不是楚国就是秦国。两国势均力敌，互相抗争，势不两立。大王如果不站在秦国一边，秦国派军



Zhang Yi Tried to Destroy Hezong and Advocate Lianheng For Chu's Benefit

Zhang Yi tried to destroy Hezong and advocate Lianheng for the benefit of the state of Chu, so he went to persuade King Huai of Chu and said, "Qin owns half of the territory of the world, and its military forces are capable of counteracting all other states located near its borders on all four sides. This state is also protected by its mountains and rivers. Moreover, it has natural forts and dangerous passes on all four sides. Qin has more than one million armed troops, one thousand chariots, as many as ten thousand war horses, and its grain is piled up like hills. Its law is very well established. Officers and men always remain composed when they find themselves in trouble and are ready to fight to the death. Its sovereign is strict and sensible, and its generals are wise and brave. If it dispatches its troops to attack other states, it can easily seize hold of the strategic pass in Mount Chang and take control of the most important places of the world. Those states that don't submit to its authority quickly enough will be destroyed first. As for those who advocate Hezong, it will be like driving a flock of sheep to attack a tiger. Obviously the sheep will lose the fight. Now you don't join the tiger but take the side of the sheep. I personally consider this impractical."

Zhang Yi continued, "Chu and Qin are the two most powerful states in the world. These two states can counterbalance each other. However, when they engage in



【原文】

而大王不与秦，秦下甲兵，据宜阳，韩之上地不通；下河东，取成皋，韩必入臣于秦。韩入臣，魏则从风而动。秦攻楚之西，韩、魏攻其北，社稷岂得无危哉？

“且夫约从者，聚群弱而攻至强也。夫以弱攻强，不料敌而轻战，国贫而骤举兵，此危亡之术也。臣闻之：‘兵不如者，勿与挑战；粟不如者，勿与持久。’夫从人者，饰辩虚辞，高主之节行，言其利而不言其害，卒有楚祸，无及为已！是故愿大王之熟计之也。”

“秦西有巴、蜀，方船积粟，起于汶山，循江而下，至郢三千余里。舫

【今译】

东下，占领宜阳，韩国通往上党地区的道路就会被切断。秦军再攻克河东，夺取成皋，韩国一定会臣服秦国。韩国臣服后，魏国就会闻风而动。秦国进攻楚国西部，韩国和魏国攻打楚国北部，国家怎会不陷入危机呢？

“那些倡导合纵的，是要联合一群弱小的国家来进攻最为强大的国家。弱国攻打强国，不能估计敌军实力而轻易宣战，国家贫困却屡次起兵，这是导致国家危亡的做法。我听说，兵力不如人家强，就不要主动挑起战争；粮食不如人家多，就不要打持久战。那些主张合纵的人，花言巧语，称赞大王的节操品行，只陈述有利的一面，而不说合纵的害处，最终只能给楚国带来灾难，那时候就来不及了。所以希望大王仔细考虑这件事啊。”

“秦国西面有巴、蜀，两船并在一起装满粮食，从岷山出发，沿长江顺流而下，行经三千多里路就能到达郢都。两船并在一起运载士卒，这



warfare with each other, they will be at daggers drawn. If you don't take the side of Qin, Qin will dispatch troops to occupy Yiyang. Thus Han's road to Shangdang will be cut off. Then the troops of Qin will seize Hedong and Chenggao. As a result, Han will submit to Qin's authority. Accordingly, Wei will follow in Han's footsteps. Then Qin will attack the western part of Chu, and Han and Wei will attack its northern area. If this is the case, isn't the state in danger?

"People advocating Hezong are trying to unite with the small and weak states to antagonize the most powerful one. They launch military action ineptly without knowing the exact situation and real power of their enemy. Even though they are poor and short of means, they still attack their enemy frequently. This is leading their states to the edge of destruction. I heard that if one's military force is not as strong as his enemy's, he should not challenge his enemy. If one's food supply is less than his enemy's, he should end the war as quickly as possible. People advocating Hezong try to praise your moral integrity with blandishments. They only tell you about the advantages but don't mention the disadvantages. That will finally cause severe trouble to Chu, and it will be too late to take any action to remedy it. So I hope you will think about it thoroughly.

"Qin owns Ba and Shu in the west. If boats are combined in pairs to transport provender along the Yangzi River from Mount Min, they will travel no more than three thousand *li* to reach the capital of Ying. If boats are combined in pairs to



【原文】

船载卒，一舫载五十人与三月之粮，下水而浮，一日行三百余里。里数虽多，不费汗马之劳。不至十日，而距扞关，扞关惊，则从竟陵已东尽城守矣，黔中、巫郡，非王之有已。秦举甲出之武关，南面而攻，则北地绝。秦兵之攻楚也，危难在三月之内，而楚恃诸侯之救，在半岁之外，此其势不相及也。夫恃弱国之救，而忘强秦之祸，此臣之所以为大王（之患）[患之]也。且大王尝与吴人五战三胜而亡之，陈卒尽矣；有偏守新城，而居民苦矣。臣闻之：‘攻大者易危，而民弊者怨于上。’夫守易危之功，而逆强秦之心，臣窃为大王危之！

【今译】

样的一只船可以承载五十人，带上三个月的粮食，顺流而下，一天就可以前进三百多里，路途虽然遥远，不费汗马之劳，不出十天就能抵达扞关。扞关震惊，那么从竟陵往东，所有的城邑都要设兵防守了，黔中和巫郡就不再归大王所有了。秦国派兵从武关出发，向南征伐，楚国的北部地区就会被切断。秦国军队进攻楚国，楚国在三个月之内就会出现危机。而楚国要依靠各国诸侯的营救，救兵却在半年之后才能到达，楚国的形势是比不上秦国的。依靠弱小国家的救援，而忘记强大的秦国可能带来的灾祸，这是我之所以替大王担心的原因。再说大王曾经跟吴国交战，五战三胜，把吴国消灭了，上阵的士卒却死光了；又要远守刚刚占领的城邑，那里的百姓非常艰苦。我听说：“进攻强大的国家很容易给自己招致危机，百姓疲惫不堪了就会怨恨君主。”守着容易出现危机的功业，违背强大的秦国的心意，我私下为大王感到危险。



transport soldiers, each pair can take fifty men. When the troops travel along the river with provender that can last for three months, they can advance more than three hundred *li* each day. Even though it is a long journey, they can reach Qianguan within ten days without bothering to use other means of transportation. When Qianguan is threatened, you need to send troops to defend all the cities and towns located east of Jingling. Moreover, Qianzhong and Wujun will no longer be under your control. If Qin dispatches troops from Wuguan towards the south to attack your state, the northern part will be cut off. If Qin attacks Chu, Chu will find itself on the edge of destruction within three months. However, the relieving troops of your allied states won't arrive till six months later. Obviously Chu cannot counteract Qin. If you resort to those small and weak states, and overlook the threat posed by the powerful Qin, I will really worry about this for your sake. Previously you were engaged in war with Wu. You launched five attacks, won three of them and finally beat Wu. But all the officers and men you sent to the battlefield lost their lives there. After that you asked your people to move to the newly occupied cities and towns, and their life there was extremely hard. I heard that if one attack a powerful enemy, he will simply endanger his own state. And if the people are exhausted, they will become hostile towards their sovereign. Now you are going against Qin's will in order to maintain the prior success which might cause big trouble or even destruction for your state. I personally worry about that very much.



【原文】

“且夫秦之所以不出甲于函谷关十五年以攻诸侯者，阴谋有吞天下之心也。楚尝与秦构难，战于汉中。楚人不胜，通侯、执珪死者七十余人，遂亡汉中。楚王大怒，兴师袭秦，战于蓝田，又却。此所谓两虎相搏者也。夫秦、楚相弊，而韩、魏以全制其后，计无过于此者矣。是故愿大王熟计之也。

“秦下兵攻卫、阳晋，必（开）扃天下之匈。大王悉起兵以攻宋，不至数月而宋可举。举宋而东指，则泗上十二诸侯，尽王之有已。

“凡天下所信约从亲坚者苏秦，封为武安君而相燕，即阴与燕王谋破齐，共分其地。乃佯有罪，出走入齐，齐王因受而相之。居二年而觉，

【今译】

“而且秦国之所以在长达十五年的时间里没有从函谷关出兵攻打其他国家，是因为暗中谋划着吞并天下的野心。楚国曾经跟秦国结怨，两国军队在汉中交战。楚军战败，拥有通侯、执珪爵位的高级将领就死了七十多人，于是汉中沦陷。楚王非常愤怒，派兵袭击秦国，与秦军在蓝田开战，又吃了败仗。这就是所谓的两虎相斗。秦国和楚国互相折腾，而韩国和魏国却得以保全自己的实力并在后方制约我们。再没有比这种计策更为失误的了，所以希望大王详细考虑一下。

“如果秦国出兵进攻卫、阳晋，一定会控制天下的要害。大王派出全部的军队进攻宋国，不出几个月就可以攻下宋国。攻克宋国后再趁势东征，那样泗水流域的十二个诸侯国就都归大王所有了。

“天下信奉合纵最坚决的人是苏秦，苏秦被封为武安君并做了燕国的相国，随即暗中跟燕王谋划着打败齐国，共同瓜分它的土地。于是苏秦假装有罪，出逃来到齐国，齐王接纳了他，并让他做自己的相国。过



"The reason that Qin has not sent its troops to march across the Hangu Valley to attack other states lies in the fact that it is planning secretly to annex all other states of the world. Once Chu and Qin were engaged in warfare and the troops of these two states fought each other in Hanzhong. The troops of Chu were defeated. More than seventy officers of high rank such as Tong Hou and Zhi Gui were killed on the battleground. Then they lost Hanzhong. The king of Chu was very angry, so he sent troops again to attack Qin. The attack was launched in Lantian. Again the troops of Chu were defeated. This is the so-called two tigers fighting each other. While Qin and Chu are engaged in attacking each other, Han and Wei can easily maintain their might and take occasion to control the two of them. Nothing could be more unwise. So I hope that you will think about it thoroughly.

"If Qin dispatches troops to attack Wei and Yangjin, it can seize the most important places of the world. At the same time, if you send all your troops to attack Song, Song will be defeated within several months. Then you can march further towards the east. As a result, all the twelve states located along the Sishui River will be under your firm control.

"In the world, the only person who advocated Hezong forcefully and believed it deeply was Su Qin. He was proclaimed as Lord Wu'an by the state of Zhao and also appointed to be prime minister of the state of Yan. After that he conspired with the king of Yan to ruin the state of Qi and then carve up its territory between them. Then he pretended to be convicted by Yan and fled to Qi. The king of Qi



【原文】

齐王大怒，车裂苏秦于市。夫以一诈伪反覆之苏秦，而欲经营天下，混一诸侯，其不可成也亦明矣。

“今秦之与楚也，接境壤界，固形亲之国也。大王诚能听臣，臣请秦太子入质于楚，楚太子入质于秦；请以秦女为大王箕箒之妾，效万家之都，以为汤沐之邑；长为昆弟之国，终身无相攻击。臣以为计无便于此者。故敝邑秦王使使臣献书大王之从车下风，须以决事。”

楚王曰：“楚国僻陋，托东海之上。寡人年幼，不习国家之长计。今上客幸教以明制，寡人闻之，敬以国从。”乃遣使车百乘，献鸡骇之犀、夜光之璧于秦王。

【今译】

了两年，齐王察觉了苏秦的阴谋，非常愤怒，在闹市上将苏秦用车裂之刑处死。凭着区区一个狡诈虚伪而又反复无常的苏秦，就想操纵天下、联合诸侯，他做不到也是很明显的了。

“如今秦国跟楚国边境相连、国土相接，本来从地形上说是互相亲近的国家。大王果真能听我的，我就请求秦国派太子到楚国来做人质，楚国派太子到秦国做人质，让秦王的女儿做服侍大王的贱妾，献上拥有几万家庭的都邑作为大王的汤沐邑，两国长久地做兄弟国，永不互相攻击。我认为再也没有比这更为有利的计策了。所以鄙国的秦王派遣我为使者，敬献上给大王的书信，以等候大王的决定。”

楚怀王说：“楚国地处偏远、濒临东海。我年纪轻轻，不懂得国家大计。今天有幸从贵客这里领教到秦王英明的旨意，我听明白了，愿意带领楚国听从安排。”于是楚怀王派遣一百辆车子出使秦国，把名为“鸡骇”的犀角和夜光美玉献给秦王。



accepted him and appointed him to be prime minister of his state. However, the king discovered Su Qin's conspiracy two years later. He was so angry that he had Su Qin killed with the Che Lie Penalty in public. As deceitful and shifty as Su Qin was, he wanted to unify the world and ally with all the states. Of course he could not manage to do that.

"The states of Qin and Chu share the same border, and their territories are adjacent. These two states should be close to each other. If you really take my advice, I will ask Qin to send its crown prince to Chu as a hostage. And Chu can also send its crown prince as a hostage to Qin. I will ask Qin's king to present his daughter to you as one of your concubines to take care of your everyday needs. We can also cede a huge county with tens of thousands of families to you as your Palace For Washing. Then we can become brother states for ever. And we will not attack each other for good. I think nothing could be better for you. So the king of Qin sent me here to present his letter to you. We await your decision."

The king of Chu said, "My state is located in a very distant area near the Eastern Sea. I am a fledgling ruler and not familiar with long-term policy. Now I am so lucky to hear the instructions from the king of Qin through you, our most honoured guest. I will lead my state to follow you." He then sent an emissary leading one hundred carriages to visit Qin and presented the rhinoceros horn named Ji Hai (literally meaning terrifying the rooster) and the Ye Guang Jade (the name of one kind of very precious jade which glows in the dark) to Qin's king.

张仪相秦

【原文】

张仪相秦，谓昭雎曰：“楚无鄢、郢、汉中，有所更得乎？”曰：“无有。”曰：“无昭雎、陈轸，有所更得乎？”曰：“无所更得。”张仪曰：“为仪谓楚王逐昭雎、陈轸，请复鄢、郢、汉中。”昭雎归报楚王，楚王说之。

有人谓昭雎曰：“甚矣，楚王不察于争名者也！韩求相工（陈）[师]籍而周不听，魏求相綦毋恢而周不听，何以也？周[曰]：‘是列县畜我也。’今楚，万乘之强国也；大王，天下之贤主也。今仪曰逐君与陈轸，而王听之，是楚自行不如周，而仪重于韩、魏之王也。且仪之所行，有功名

【今译】

张仪做秦国的相国，对昭雎说：“楚国失去了鄢、郢与汉中，还有别的地吗？”昭雎说：“没有。”张仪说：“失去了昭雎、陈轸，还能得到这样的贤士吗？”昭雎说：“没有了。”张仪说：“你替我对楚王说，驱逐了昭雎、陈轸，我就归还鄢、郢与汉中。”昭雎回来报告了楚王，楚王很高兴。

有人对昭雎说：“楚王太不能明察旨在博取尊名的人了。韩国让周国任用工师籍做相国，但周国却不听；魏国让周国任用綦毋恢为相国，但是周国也不听，为什么呢？周国认为韩与魏把它当作自己的一个县来对待。如今楚国是一个拥有一万辆战车的强国，大王是天下贤明的君主。现在张仪说驱逐您和陈轸，大王就听从了，这就是楚国自视不如周国，而张仪却比韩国和魏国的君主地位还高。而且张仪的所做所为





Zhang Yi Served as Prime Minister of Qin

When Zhang Yi served as prime minister of the state of Qin, he told Zhao Ju, "Chu has lost Yan, Ying and Hanzhong. Does it have any other cities and towns as important as these areas?" "No, it doesn't." "If Chu loses Zhao Ju and Chen Zhen, does it have any other people as worthy as them?" "No, it doesn't."

Zhang Yi said, "Please send a message for me to the king of the state of Chu. Tell him that if he drives Zhao Ju and Chen Zhen out of the state of Chu, I will return Yan, Ying and Hanzhong to Chu." Zhao Ju went back to report this to the king of Chu, and the king was very happy.

Someone had a talk with Zhao Ju and said, "The king of Chu knows nothing about finding out people engaged in seeking for power and praise. The state of Han asked the state of Zhou to designate Gongshi Ji to be its prime minister, but Zhou rejected. The state of Wei asked Zhou to appoint Qiwu Hui as its prime minister, but Zhou also refused. Why? The sovereign of Zhou thought that Han and Wei regarded his state as one of their own counties (by issuing such orders to him). Now Chu is a big state with ten thousand chariots, and His Majesty is a worthy sovereign of the world. Zhang Yi asked him to drive you and Chen Zhen out of the state, and he is going to take this advice. Thus Chu considers itself as nothing but an inferior to Zhou, but considers Zhang Yi more important than the sovereigns of Han and Wei. Moreover,



【原文】

者，秦也；所欲贵富者，魏也。欲为攻于魏，必南伐楚。故攻有道，外绝其交，内逐其谋臣。陈轸，夏人也，习于三晋之事，故逐之，则楚无谋臣矣。今君能用楚之众，故亦逐之，则楚众不用矣。此所谓内攻之者也，而王不知察。今君何不见臣于王，请为王使齐交不绝？齐交不绝，仪闻之，其效鄢、郢、汉中必缓矣。是昭雎之言不信也，王必薄之。”

【今译】

是想在秦国博得功名，在魏国获取富贵。想为魏国立功，一定会向南攻打楚国。所以会进攻有道的君主，断绝他的外交，将出谋划策的大臣驱逐出他的国家。陈轸是中原地区的人，熟悉韩国、赵国和魏国的事情，所以驱逐了他，楚国就没有出谋划策的大臣了；如今您能够调遣楚国的民众，所以也要驱逐您，那楚国的民众就不能被调遣了。这就是所谓的进攻其内部，而大王不知道明察。现在您为什么不把我引荐给大王？请让我为大王争取齐国不跟我们断交。跟齐国不断交，张仪听说了，他就一定会拖延进献鄢、郢与汉中的。这样一来，昭雎的话就不可信了，大王一定不会看重他了。”

威王问于莫敖子华

【原文】

威王问于莫敖子华曰：“自从先君文王以至不穀之身，亦有不为爵劝，不为禄勉，以忧社稷者乎？”莫敖子华对曰：“如华，不足知之矣。”王

【今译】

楚威王问莫敖子华：“从先君文王一直到我在位的这段时间里，有不是出于爵位和俸禄的考虑而为国家担忧的大臣吗？”莫敖子华回答道：“我不配知道这些事情。”楚威王说：“不问您还能问谁呢？”莫敖子华



Zhang Yi's endeavours are focused on making contributions to the state of Qin and gaining power and wealth in the state of Wei. Therefore, when he wants to accomplish advantages for the state of Wei, he will definitely attack the state of Chu in the south. So he will attack the worthy sovereign, cut off his diplomatic relations with other states, and drive his advisors out of the state. Chen Zhen comes from the central part of China. He is familiar with the situation in the states of Han, Zhao and Wei. Thus if he is banished, Chu will have no advisor. And you yourself are good at commanding Chu's masses. So he also wants to drive you out of the state. Thus the masses will no longer be commanded efficiently. This is the so-called internal attack. But His Majesty does not realize this. Why not introduce me to His Majesty immediately? I can maintain our diplomatic relations with Qi on His Majesty's behalf. If Zhang Yi knows that Qi won't cut off the ties with us, certainly he will delay returning Yan, Ying and Hanzhong. As a result, His Majesty will no longer trust Zhao Ju and therefore will attach less importance to him."

King Wei Asked Moao Zihua a Question

King Wei of Chu asked Moao Zihua, "From the time of our deceased King Wen till the present, have there been any high-ranking court officials who cannot be encouraged by positions or salaries but still worry about the state?" Moao Zihua said, "A person like me is not qualified for answering such a question." The king said, "Whom else can I ask



【原文】

曰：“不于大夫，无所闻之？”莫敖子华对曰：“君王将何问者也？彼有廉其爵，贫其身，以忧社稷者；有崇其爵，丰其禄，以忧社稷者；有断脰决腹，一瞑而万世不视，不知所益，以忧社稷者；有劳其身，愁其志，以忧社稷者；亦有不为爵劝，不为禄勉，以忧社稷者。”王曰：“大夫此言，将何谓也？”

莫敖子华对曰：“昔令尹子文，缁帛之衣以朝，鹿裘以处；未明而立于朝，日晦而归食；朝不谋夕，无一月之积。故彼廉其爵，贫其身，以忧社稷者，令尹子文是也。

“昔者，叶公子高身获于表薄，而财于柱国；定白公之祸，宁楚国之事；恢先君以掩方城之外，四封不侵，名不挫于诸侯。当此之时也，天下莫敢以兵南乡。叶公子高食田六百畛。故彼崇其爵，丰其禄，以忧社稷

【今译】

回答说：“大王想问什么样的大臣呢？他们当中有为官清廉、自己清贫，却为国家担忧的；有爵位尊贵、俸禄优厚而为国家担忧的；有抛头颅，剖肠肚，双眼一闭，什么都看不见了，不顾个人利益，而为国家担忧的；有宁愿自己劳顿、忧虑自己志向的施展而为国家担忧的；也有不出于爵位、俸禄的刺激而为国家担忧的。”楚威王说：“您这番话是什么意思？”

莫敖子华回答道：“从前的令尹子文穿着简陋的黑色衣服上朝，在家就穿鹿皮衣服。天不亮就站在朝堂上开始工作，天黑了才回家吃饭。他的生活朝不保夕，家里的粮食不足以维持一个月。所以令尹子文就是那种为官清廉、自身清贫而为国家担忧的。

“从前的叶公子高出身贫贱，而柱国认为他有才干。他平定了白公之乱，稳定了楚国的局势；扩大了先王的领土，收复了方城以北的土地，使得四方边境不被侵略，楚王的名声没有受到诸侯的损伤。在他那个时候，天下各国都不敢出兵南下。叶公子高被赐封了六百畛的食邑。



except you?" Moao Zihua said, "Well, what kind of high-ranking court officials are you talking about? Some officials who are uncorrupted when they are in power and therefore are very poor and worry about the state. Some who hold powerful high positions and enjoy very generous salaries worry about the state. Some who would not hesitate to die for the sake of the state and pay no attention to self-interest worry about the state. Some who preferred bothering themselves and are concerned about their ideals worry about the state. Some who are not interested in positions or salaries worry about the state." The king asked, "What do you mean?"

Moao Zihua replied, "Previously Lingyin Ziwen worked at court in a dark suit and wore a coat made of deerskin at home. He went to the court to work before dawn, and came back home for dinner when it was dark. He was poor and didn't have enough food or savings to support his family for one month. So he was the one who was uncorrupted, very poor but still worried about the state.

"Mr She Zigao was born to a poor and powerless family. However, the then Zhu Guo considered him a talented person. Mr She suppressed the rebellion stirred up by Bai Sheng and put the state of Chu in order. He also took over all the areas north of Fangcheng. During his time all four borders were not attacked by other states. The sovereign's reputation was not harmed by his counterparts, and no state dared dispatch its troops southwards to attack Chu. He was conferred a fief as big as six hundred *zhen*. So he was the one who held a powerful high position, enjoyed a very generous



【原文】

者，叶公子高是也。

“昔者，吴与楚战于柏举。两御之间，夫卒交。莫敖大心抚其御之手，顾而大息曰：‘嗟乎子乎，楚国亡之月至矣！吾将深入吴军，若扑一人，若摔一人，以与大心者也，社稷其庶几乎？’故断脰决腹，一瞑而万世不视，不知所益，以忧社稷者，莫敖大心是也。

“昔吴与楚战于柏举，三战入郢。（寡）君[王]身出，大夫悉属，百姓离散。莽冒勃苏曰：‘吾被坚执锐，赴强敌而死，此犹一卒也，不若奔诸侯。’于是羸粮潜行，上峥山，逾深溪，跣穿膝暴，七日而薄秦王之朝。（雀）[雀]立不转，昼吟宵哭，七日不得告，水浆无入口，痍而殫闷，旄不

【今译】

所以他是爵位尊贵、俸禄优厚而为国家担忧的。

“从前吴国和楚国的军队在柏举交战，双方士卒在战车之间交手。莫敖大心抚摸着他的车夫的手，回头长叹一声，说：‘哎哟，楚国灭亡的日子到了！我将深入到吴国军队当中，如果能打倒一个、捉住一个，我就知足了。大家都跟我一样做，国家差不多就能保住了！’所以莫敖大心是抛头颅、剖肠肚，双眼一闭，什么都看不见了，不顾个人利益，而为国家担忧的。

“从前吴军和楚军在柏举交战的时候，吴军经过三次战斗，攻入了郢都。楚王逃往国外，大臣们跟随出逃，老百姓妻离子散。莽冒勃苏说：‘如果我身披坚固的铠甲、手持锋利的兵器，奔赴强敌，殊死搏斗，这就跟一名普通的士卒没有什么两样了，不如去别国求援。’于是他背着干粮悄悄逃走，翻越高山，渡过深溪，脚掌磨破了，膝盖暴露出来了，走了七天，到达了秦王的朝廷。他一动不动地站在那里，昼夜不停地哭泣，七天没有得到秦国资救的消息，连一口水都没有喝，气绝晕倒，不省



salary but still worried about the state.

"Once the troops of the state of Chu and those of the state of Wu were engaged in warfare in Boju. Soldiers of both sides were fighting cut and thrust between the chariots. Moao Daxin touched his driver's hand, looked back and groaned sadly, 'Oh! The state of Chu is on the edge of destruction. I am going to approach the enemy to fight at close quarters. If I can beat down one of them or take one captive, I will be satisfied. If everyone would do the same, probably our state will not be destroyed.' So he was the one who devoted his life to the state and overlooked self-interest but in the meantime still worried about the state.

"Previously, the troops of the state of Chu and those of the state of Wu were engaged in a warfare in Boju. The troops of Wu occupied the capital of Ying after three fierce battles. The sovereign of Chu escaped to another state for shelter. All the high-ranking court officials followed him and the people lost their families during the fighting. Fenmao Bosu said, 'If I wear armour and take a sharp weapon to fight the formidable enemies to the death, there wouldn't be any difference between me and other ordinary soldiers. I'd better escape to another state to ask for help.' He then carried some provender on his back and escaped. He tramped over several mountains and crossed some deep waters. His soles were broken and the bones of his knees were exposed. He arrived at the palace of Qin's king seven days later. He stood there and cried. He hadn't obtained any information for seven days. Without drinking a drop of water or eating anything,



【原文】

知人。秦王闻而走之，冠带不相及，左奉其首，右濡其口，勃苏乃苏。秦王身问之：‘子孰谁也？’棼冒勃苏对曰：‘臣非异，楚使新造盭棼冒勃苏。吴与楚人战于柏举，三战入郢，寡君身出，大夫悉属，百姓离散。使下臣来告亡，且求救。’秦王顾令不起：‘寡人闻之，万乘之君，得罪一士，社稷其危，今此之谓也！’遂出革车千乘、卒万人，属之子（满）[蒲]与子虎，下塞以东，与吴人战于洧水而大败之，亦闻于遂浦。故劳其身，愁其思，以忧社稷者，棼冒勃苏是也。

“吴与楚战于柏举，三战入郢。君王身出，大夫悉属，百姓离散。蒙

【今译】

人事。秦王听说了，急急忙忙奔向他，连帽子腰带都没来得及穿戴好，左手捧着他的头，用右手给他喂水，勃苏才苏醒过来。秦王亲自问他说：‘您是谁呀？’棼冒勃苏回答说：‘我不是别人，正是楚国刚刚获罪的使者棼冒勃苏。从前吴军和楚军在柏举交战的时候，吴军经过三次战斗，攻入了郢都。楚王逃往国外，大臣们跟随出逃，老百姓妻离子散。楚王派我前来禀报大王楚国的危急状况，并且向大王求救。’秦王转向他，命令他站起来，说：‘我听说，一个拥有一万辆战车的君主，如果得罪一个士人，他的国家就危险了，今天就是这种情形啊。’于是派出一千辆战车、一万名士卒，派子蒲和子虎率领着，出了关塞东下，跟吴国军队在洧水开战并他们击溃，也有人说这场战争发生在遂浦。所以棼冒勃苏是宁肯自己劳顿，为自己的思虑所困扰，而为国家担忧的。

“吴军和楚军在柏举交战，吴军经过三次战斗，攻入了郢都。楚王逃往国外，大臣们跟随出逃，老百姓妻离子散。楚将蒙谷在宫唐跟吴军



he fell onto the ground unconscious. When the king of Qin heard this, without dressing himself he ran over to Fenmao Bosu. Holding his head in the left hand, the king let him drink some water. Then Bosu regained consciousness. The king asked him, 'Who are you?' Fenmao Bosu replied, 'I am Fenmao Bosu, a guilty emissary from Chu. The troops of the state of Chu and those of the state of Wu were engaged in warfare in Boju. The troops of Wu occupied the capital of Ying after three fierce battles. The sovereign of Chu escaped to another state for shelter. All the high-ranking court officials followed him and the people lost their families during the fighting. Our sovereign sent me here to inform Your Majesty that our state is in peril and ask for your help.' The king of Qin turned to him, ordered him to stand up and said, 'I heard that if the sovereign of a state with ten thousand chariots offends a scholar, his state will be in peril. This is the case.' Then he sent one thousand chariots with ten thousand soldiers. He appointed Zipu and Zihu to lead the army to march out of the pass and then march further eastwards. The troops of Qin confronted those of Wu in Zhuoshui and bitterly defeated them. Some people said this war took place in Suipu. So Fenmao Bosu was the one who preferred bothering himself, was concerned with his ideal and still worried about the state.

"The troops of the state of Chu and those of the state of Wu were engaged in warfare in Boju. The troops of Wu occupied the capital of Ying after three fierce battles. The sovereign of Chu escaped to another state for shelter. All the



【原文】

谷给斗于宫唐之上，舍斗奔郢，曰：‘若有孤，楚国社稷其庶几乎？’遂入大宫，负（鸡）[离]次之典，以浮于江，逃于云梦之中。昭王反郢，五官失法，百姓昏乱。蒙谷献典，五官得法而百姓大治。（此）[比]蒙谷之功多，与存国相若，封之执珪，田六百畛。蒙谷怒曰：‘谷非人臣，社稷之臣。苟社稷血食，余岂患无君乎？’遂自弃于磨山之中，至今无（冒）[冑]。故不为爵劝，不为禄勉，以忧社稷者，蒙谷是也。”

王乃大息曰：“此古之人也。今之人，焉能有之耶？”莫敖子华对曰：

【今译】

交战，他放弃战斗跑回郢都，说：‘如果还有嗣君在，楚国大概还不至于灭亡吧！’于是进入宫中，背着次序颠倒的法典在江上漂流，逃到了云梦泽中。楚昭王返回到郢都，朝廷各个机构无法可依，百姓困惑混乱。蒙谷献出法典，各机构有了法律可依循，百姓也被治理得很好。蒙谷的功劳大得跟保全楚国差不多，楚王封他为执珪，赏赐他六百畛土地。蒙谷愤怒地说：‘我不是哪一个人的臣子，而是国家的臣子。如果宗庙祭祀能够延续，我难道还担心自己没有君主吗？’于是到磨山中隐居，他的后代至今没有什么显要的官职。所以蒙谷就是不受爵位和俸禄的激励，而为国家担忧的。”

楚威王长长地叹了一口气说：“这些都是古代的人了。如今的人，



high-ranking court officials followed him and the people lost their families during the fighting. During the war Meng Gu was fighting the enemies in Gongtang. He gave up fighting, escaped back to the capital of Ying and said, 'If the crown prince is safe, the state of Chu will probably not be defeated.' So he entered the main palace hall, carried the disarranged corpus juris on his back and went to the Yangzi River. After that he escaped to the Yunmeng Lake. After King Zhao returned to Ying, government departments all had no law to comply with, the people were confused and chaos reigned. Meng Gu contributed the corpus juris. Thus all the government departments could deal with state affairs according to the law and regulations kept in the corpus juris. The people were well governed. Meng Gu's contribution was so great that he was almost as meritorious as preventing his state from being overthrown. He was promoted to the position of Zhi Gui and rewarded six hundred *zhen* of land. However, Meng Gu was very angry and said, 'I am not an official of any sovereign, I am an official of our state. If the ceremonies held to worship our deceased sovereigns at the ancestral temple can continue, why should I worry about not working for a sovereign?' Then he went to Mount Mo and lived in seclusion. And his descendants never held any powerful positions. So Meng Gu was the one who couldn't be encouraged with position or salary but still worried about the state."

The king groaned slowly and said, "These people lived in the past. However, we don't have these kinds of people at



【原文】

“昔者，先君灵王好小要，楚士约食，冯而能立，式而能起。食之可欲，忍而不入；死之可恶，然而不避。章闻之：‘其君好发者，其臣抉拾。’君王直不好贤耳，若君王诚好贤，此五臣者，皆可得而致之。”

【今译】

哪里还能有像他们这样的呢？”

莫敖子华回答说：“从前，我们已故的君主灵王喜欢纤细的腰肢，楚国的士人都节食，靠着东西才能站立，扶着东西才能站起。食物是人人都想要的，却能忍住不要；死亡是人人都讨厌的，却可以不回避。我听说，如果一个君主爱好射箭，他的臣子就都跟着射箭。大王您只不过是喜爱贤士罢了，如果真的爱才，跟这五个大臣一样的人都可以得到并且笼络过来。”

present. ”

Moao Zihua replied, “Previously our former sovereign—King Ling was fond of slim waists. So all the scholars in Chu went on a diet. They couldn’t stand without leaning against something. Nor could they get up without some help. Everyone longs for food. However, they restrained themselves from eating. Everyone hates death. However, they didn’t circumvent it. I heard that if a sovereign loves archery, all his high-ranking court officials will take part in shooting. You don’t really cherish wise and capable people. If you did, you could certainly obtain people like these aforementioned five court officials. ”



卷十五 楚 二

魏相翟强死

【原文】

魏相翟强死。为甘茂谓楚王曰：“魏之几相者，公子劲也。劲也相魏，魏、秦之交必善。秦、魏之交完，则楚轻矣。故王不如与齐约，相甘茂于魏。齐王好高人以名，今为其行人请魏之相，齐必喜。魏氏不听，交恶于齐，齐、魏之交恶，必争事楚；魏氏听，甘茂与樗里疾，贸首之仇也，而魏、秦之交必恶，又交重楚也。”

【今译】

魏国的相国翟强死了。有人为甘茂对楚王说：“最有可能做魏国相国的是公子劲。公子劲做魏国的相国，魏国跟秦国的关系一定会非常亲善。秦国和魏国的关系好了，楚国的地位就轻了。所以大王不如跟齐国约定，让甘茂做魏国的相国。齐王喜欢博得比别人高的名声，如今为他的使者请求做魏国的相国，齐王必定很高兴。如果魏国不听，跟齐国的关系就会恶化。齐国和魏国的关系恶化，必定会争相结交楚国。如果魏国听从了，甘茂跟樗里疾是不共戴天的仇人，从而魏国跟秦国的关系必定会恶化，也会争相结交楚国。”





Book 15

The Second Volume on Chu

Zhai Qiang, the Prime Minister of Wei, Died

Zhai Qiang, the prime minister of the state of Wei, died. On Gan Mao's behalf, someone had a talk with the king of the state of Chu and said, "Childe Jin has the highest possibility of being appointed as the new prime minister of the state of Wei. If he becomes the new prime minister of Wei, the relationship between the state of Wei and the state of Qin will become very good. If this is the case, your state will become less influential. It would be better if Your Majesty make an agreement with the state of Qi to designate Gan Mao to be the new prime minister of Wei. The king of Qi cannot have enough good reputation. If you ask for the position of prime minister of Wei for his emissary (referring to Gan Mao), he will be very happy. If Wei doesn't take your advice, it will hurt its relations with Qi. If the relationship between Qi and Wei deteriorates, both of them will vie with each other to establish ties with Chu. Gan Mao and Chu Liji are absolutely irreconcilable enemies. If Wei takes this advice, the relationship between Wei and Qin will definitely deteriorate. As a result, these two states will vie with each other to win over Chu too."



齐秦约攻楚

【原文】

齐、秦约攻楚，楚令景翠以六城赂齐，太子为质。昭睢谓景翠曰：“秦恐，且因景鲤、苏厉而效地于楚。公出地以取齐，鲤于厉且以收地取秦，公事必败。公不如令王重赂景鲤、苏厉，使人秦。（秦）[齐]恐，必不求地而合于楚。若齐不求，是公与约也。”

【今译】

齐国和秦国相约一起进攻楚国，楚王派景翠用六座城邑来贿赂齐国，并且让太子到齐国做人质。昭睢对景翠说：“秦国担心齐国会跟楚国联合，将要通过景鲤和苏厉进献土地给楚国。您献出土地来拉拢齐国，景鲤和苏厉即将接受秦国土地来拉拢秦国，您的事情一定会失败。您不如让楚王给景鲤和苏厉准备重金，让他们出使秦国。齐国就会惊恐，必定不会索要土地而且会跟楚国交好。如果齐国不索要土地，这就是您促成了齐国和楚国的邦交。”

术视伐楚

【原文】

术视伐楚，楚令昭鼠以十万军汉中。昭睢胜秦于重丘，苏厉谓宛公昭鼠曰：“王欲昭睢之乘秦也，必分公之兵以益之。秦知公兵之分也，必

【今译】

术视攻打楚国，楚王派昭鼠率领十万军队驻扎在汉中。昭睢在重丘打败了秦国的军队，苏厉对宛公昭鼠说：“大王想让昭睢攻击秦军，必定会调动您的部分兵力增援他。秦国知道您的兵力被分散了，必定会



Qi and Qin United with Each Other to Attack Chu

The state of Qi and the state of Qin united with each other to attack the state of Chu. The king of Chu ordered Jing Cui to bribe Qi with six cities and also sent the crown prince to Qi as a hostage. Zhao Ju had a talk with Jing Cui and said, "Qin fears that Qi and Chu might build an alliance, so it will present some territory to Chu through Jing Li and Su Li. Now you are going to cede some land to Qi to buy it off. However, Jing Li and Su Li will accept the territory from Qin to win it over. Your efforts will definitely be in vain. Therefore, you'd better ask His Majesty to send Jing Li and Su Li on a diplomatic mission to Qin along with a huge amount of gold to establish strong ties there. Then Qi will be scared. Therefore Qi will not only dare not ask for land, but will also establish good relations with your state. If Qi doesn't demand land, it means that it's you that help Chu establish good ties with Qi."

Shu Shi Attacked Chu

Shu Shi, a general of the state of Qin, attacked the state of Chu. Chu sent Zhao Shu to lead one hundred thousand soldiers to be stationed in Hanzhong. Zhao Ju defeated the troops of Qin in Zhongqiu. Su Li had a talk with Zhao Shu, also known as the Chief Official of Wan, and said, "His Majesty wants to order Zhao Ju to attack the troops of Qin."



【原文】

出汉中。请为公令(辛)[聃]戎谓王曰‘秦兵且出汉中’,则公之兵全矣。”

【今译】

出兵进攻汉中。请让我为您让(辛)[聃]戎对大王说,‘秦国即将派兵进攻汉中’,那您的兵力就能保全了。”

四国伐楚

【原文】

四国伐楚,楚令昭睢将以距秦。楚王欲击秦,昭(侯)[睢]不欲。桓臧为昭睢谓楚王曰:“睢战胜,三国恶楚之强也,恐秦之变而听楚也,必深攻楚以劲秦。秦王怒于战不胜,必悉起而击楚。是王与秦相罢而以利三国也。战不胜秦,秦进兵而攻。不如益昭睢之兵,令之示秦必战。秦王恶与楚相弊而令天下,秦可以少割而收害也。秦、楚之合,而燕、

【今译】

秦国、齐国、韩国和魏国一起进攻楚国,楚王命令昭睢率领军队抵御秦国军队。楚王想对秦国军队发动进攻,昭睢不同意。桓臧为昭睢对楚王说:“昭睢战胜的话,其他三个国家忌恨楚国的强大,担心秦国会改变立场,转而投靠楚国,必定会猛烈进攻楚国来坚定秦国的立场;秦王恼于没有战胜,必定动用全部兵力进攻楚国。这样一来,大王跟秦国就会互相削弱,从而会对其他三个国家有利。如果不能战胜秦国,秦国就会进兵攻击。不如增加昭睢的兵力,表现出一定要跟秦军决战的样子。秦王讨厌跟楚国互相弄得疲弊而使天下各国得以保全,就可以少割让一些土地来争取秦国了。秦国和楚国交好,燕国、赵国和魏国就不



So he will definitely ask you for reinforcements. When Qin knows that the number of your troops is reduced, it will send troops to attack Hanzhong. Please allow me to ask Mi Rong to notify His Majesty that Qin will dispatch military forces to attack Hanzhong. Then your military forces can be kept at full strength."

Four States Attacked Chu

Four states—Qin, Yan, Zhao and Wei united with each other to attack the state of Chu. Chu appointed Zhao Ju as Commander-in-Chief to confront the troops of Qin. The king of Chu was about to launch attacks on the troops of Qin, but Zhao Ju didn't want to do so. On behalf of Zhao Ju, Huan Zang had a talk with the king of Chu and said, "If Zhao Ju defeats the troops of Qin, since the other three states hate Chu's power and fear that Qin might betray them and turn to make peace with Chu, they will launch fierce attacks on Chu to aid Qin. The king of Qin will also be angered because of losing the war, so he will dispatch all his officers and men to attack Chu. If this is the case, Qin and Chu will exhaust each other to the benefit of those three states. If Zhao Ju cannot defeat the troops of Qin, Qin's troops will launch further attacks against Chu. It would be better if you reinforce Zhao Ju's army and order him to show his determination to fight Qin. The king of Qin hates vying with Chu because that will exhaust both the two states and strengthen other states in the world. Hence, you can win over Qin by ceding a little land to



【原文】

赵、魏不敢不听，三国可定也。”

【今译】

敢不听从，其他三个国家就会息兵了。”

楚怀王拘张仪

【原文】

楚怀王拘张仪，将欲杀之。靳尚为仪谓楚王曰：“拘张仪，秦王必怒。天下见楚之无秦也，楚必轻矣。”又谓王之幸夫人郑袖曰：“子亦自知且贱于王乎？”郑袖曰：“何也？”尚曰：“张仪者，秦王之忠信有功臣也，今楚拘之，秦王欲出之。秦王有爱女而美，又简择宫中佳丽好玩习音者以欢从之，资之金玉宝器，奉以上庸六县为汤沐邑，欲因张仪内之楚王，楚王必爱。秦女依强秦以为重，挟宝地以为资，势为王妻以临于楚。王惑于虞乐，必厚尊敬亲爱之而忘子，子益贱而日疏矣！”郑袖曰：“愿委之

【今译】

楚怀王扣押张仪，准备把他杀了。靳尚替张仪对楚怀王说：“扣押了张仪，秦王一定会很愤怒。天下各国发觉楚国失去了秦国的邦交，一定会轻视楚国的。”他又对楚怀王宠幸的夫人郑袖说：“您知道自己很快将被大王忽视了吗？”郑袖说：“为什么呢？”靳尚说：“张仪是秦王非常钟爱信任的有功之臣。如今楚国囚禁了他，秦王一定会想办法让楚国放他出去。秦王有一个心爱的女儿非常漂亮，还会挑选宫中容貌美丽、善于游戏又精通音律的女子随从自己的女儿作为陪嫁。秦王还会用黄金美玉、珠宝名器资助她，送给她上庸地区的六个县作为汤沐邑，还想通过张仪把她献给大王。大王一定会宠爱她，秦王的女儿必定倚仗秦国的强大而抬高自己的身价，掌握着宝物和土地作为资本，势必以大王妻子的身份来到楚国。大王沉溺于娱乐，一定会非常尊宠亲近她而把您忘了，您的地位将一天天低贱而且逐渐被疏远了。”郑袖说：“我



it. If Qin and Chu establish good relations with each other, Yan, Zhao and Wei won't dare to act against you. Therefore, the other three states will also cease their military actions."

King Huai of Chu Detained Zhang Yi

King Huai of Chu detained Zhang Yi and was going to kill him. Jin Shang consulted with King Huai on Zhang Yi's behalf and said, "If you detain Zhang Yi, Qin will become very angry. If other states see that Qin cuts ties with Chu, they will look down upon Chu." He then went to see Zheng Xiu, one of the king's wives, and said, "Do you know that you are going to be estranged by the king?" Zheng Xiu asked, "Why?" Jin Shang replied, "Qin's king trusts Zhang Yi and considers him very loyal and extremely meritorious to his state. Now Chu has detained him. Qin's king will try everything to set him free. Qin's king has a lovely daughter who is very beautiful. He will also select some pretty women who are good at entertaining and playing musical instruments to accompany his daughter to marry His Majesty. Qin's king will support her with gold, jade and other treasures, and give her the six counties in Shangyong as Tang Mu Yi. He will ask Zhang Yi to introduce her to His Majesty. His Majesty will definitely fall in love with her. With the might of the powerful Qin and with the treasures and land she receives, she will surely come here as the First Lady. His Majesty will be addicted to pleasure and entertainment and therefore



【原文】

于公。为之奈何？”曰：“子何不急言王出张子？张子得出，德子无已时；秦女必不来，而秦必重子。子内擅楚之贵，外结秦之交，畜张子以为用，子之子孙必为楚太子矣，此非布衣之利也。”郑袖遽说楚王出张子。

【今译】

愿意把这件事交给您去处理。该怎么办呢？”靳尚说：“您何不立即去跟大王讲，让他放了张仪？张仪被释放后，一定会永远感激您的，秦王的女儿一定不会来了，秦国也一定会看重您。您在国内能独享尊贵，对外又能结交秦国，留着张仪为您效劳，您的子孙必定能做楚国的太子，这可不是普通百姓的利益啊。”郑袖随即劝说楚怀王释放了张仪。

楚王将出张子

【原文】

楚王将出张子，恐其（败）[欺]己也。靳尚谓楚王曰：“臣请随之。仪事王不善，臣请杀之。”

楚小臣，靳尚之仇也，谓张旄曰：“以张仪之知，而有秦、楚之用，君必穷矣。君不如使人微要靳尚而刺之，楚王必大怒仪也。彼仪穷，则子

【今译】

楚王想释放张仪，担心他会欺骗自己。靳尚对楚王说：“请让我跟着他，如果他不好好侍奉大王，我就杀了他。”

楚国有一个小官跟靳尚有仇，他对张旄说：“凭借着张仪的智慧，又有秦国和楚国对他的重用，您必定要陷入穷途末路了。您不如派人暗中拦截靳尚并把他杀了，楚王一定会重重迁怒于张仪。张仪陷入困境，



cherish her very much and ignore you as a result. You will be gradually estranged and will become less and less powerful day by day." Zheng Xiu said, "I am going to ask you to settle this problem for me, Sire. What shall we do then?" Jin Shang suggested to her, "Why not ask His Majesty to set Zhang Yi free immediately? If he is set free, he will be very grateful to you. Thus the princess of Qin won't marry His Majesty and Qin will pay much attention to you. Hence, you can maintain your powerful and honourable status in Chu, and can also establish good relationship with Qin. Moreover, you can keep Zhang Yi at your service. Thus your own child will become crown prince of Chu. This is a significant gain." Zheng Xiu immediately persuaded Chu's king to release Zhang Yi.

Chu's King Was About to Set Zhang Yi Free

The king of the state of Chu was about to set Zhang Yi free. But he feared that Zhang Yi might cheat him. Jin Shang told the king, "Please let me follow Zhang Yi. If he doesn't serve you loyally, I will kill him." In the state of Chu, there was a low-ranking court official who was Jin Shang's personal enemy. This official told Zhang Mao, "Zhang Yi is intelligent and has now been appointed to powerful positions by both the state of Qin and the state of Chu. You will definitely be stripped of power. It would be better if you send someone to intercept Jin Shang and kill him. Thus the king of Chu will become very angry with Zhang Yi. When Zhang Yi loses power, you will become very powerful and influential



【原文】

重矣。楚、秦相难，则魏无患矣。”

张旄果令人要靳尚刺之。楚王大怒秦，构兵而战。秦、楚争事魏，张旄果大重。

【今译】

您的地位就提高了。楚国和秦国互相作对，魏国就没有忧患了。”

张旄果然派人拦截靳尚并且将他杀死。楚王十分生秦国的气，派兵进攻秦国。秦国和楚国争相侍奉魏国，张旄果然很受重用。

秦败楚汉中

【原文】

秦败楚汉中。楚王入秦，秦王留之。游腾为楚谓秦王曰：“王挟楚王而与天下攻楚，则伤行矣；不与天下共攻之，则失利矣。王不如与之盟而归之。楚王畏，必不敢倍盟。王因与三国攻之，义也。”

【今译】

秦国军队在汉中击败了楚军。楚王来到秦国，秦王扣押了他。游腾为楚国对秦王说：“大王劫持楚王并且联合天下各国进攻楚国，是有伤自己德行的；不与天下各国一起进攻楚国，就会失掉利益。大王不如跟楚王结盟并且放他回国。楚王很畏惧大王，必定不敢背弃盟约。（如果他背信弃义，）大王趁机联合其他三个国家进攻他，就名正言顺了。”

楚襄王为太子之时

【原文】

楚襄王为太子之时，质于齐。怀王薨，太子辞于齐王而归。齐王隘

【今译】

楚襄王还是太子的时候，在齐国做人质。楚怀王去世后，太子向齐



yourself. If Qin and Chu engage in attacking each other, your state will be free from threat."

As expected, Zhang Mao sent someone to intercept and kill Jin Shang. The king of Chu was very angry towards the state of Qin, so he dispatched troops to attack it. Qin and Chu vied with each other to win over Wei. Zhang Mao became very powerful and influential as expected.

Qin Defeated Chu in Hanzhong

The troops of the state of Qin defeated those of Chu in Hanzhong. The king of Chu went to Qin. The king of Qin arrested him. On behalf of the state of Chu, You Teng had a talk with the king of the state of Qin and said, "Now if Your Majesty detain the king of Chu and unite with other states in the world to attack Chu, your reputation will be damaged. If you don't join other states in attacking it, you will miss a great opportunity. It would be better if Your Majesty make an agreement with the king of Chu and then send him back. Since he fears you, surely he dares not breach the agreement. If he breaches the agreement, it will be righteous for you to unite with the other three states to attack him."

At the Time King Xiang was Still Chu's Crown Prince

Before King Xiang of Chu came into power, he was the crown prince of Chu and lived in the state of Qi as a hostage. After King Huai of Chu died, the crown prince asked Qi's



【原文】

之：“予我东地五百里，乃归子；子不予我，不得归！”太子曰：“臣有傅，请追而问傅。”傅慎子曰：“献之地，所以为身也。爱地不送死父，不义。臣故曰献之便。”太子入，致命齐王曰：“敬献地五百里。”齐王归楚太子。

太子归，即位为王。齐使车五十乘来取东地于楚。楚王告慎子曰：“齐使来求东地，为之奈何？”慎子曰：“王明日朝群臣，皆令其献计。”

上柱国子良入见。王曰：“寡人之得（求）[来]反，王坟墓、复群臣、归社稷也，以东地五百里许齐。齐令使来求地，为之奈何？”子良曰：“王不可不与也。王身出玉声，许强万乘之齐而不与，则不信，后不可以约

【今译】

王告别，请求回楚国。齐王阻止他说：“你给我楚国东部五百里的土地，就放你回去。你不给我，就不让你回去。”太子说：“我有位老师，请允许我回去问问他。”太子的老师慎子说：“献给他土地，是为了保护自己。因为贪恋土地而不为死去的父亲送葬，是不义的。所以我说，还是献出土地妥当。”太子进入宫中，禀报齐王说：“我敬献上五百里土地。”齐王这才放楚太子回国。

太子回国后，即位做了楚王。齐国派出使者率领五十辆战车，来索要楚国东部的土地。楚襄王告诉慎子说：“齐国的使者来索要东部的土地，该怎么办？”慎子说：“大王明天朝见群臣，让他们都献上自己的计策。”

上柱国子良入宫拜见楚襄王。襄王说：“我能够返回楚国主持先王葬礼、再见诸位大臣、执掌国家大权，是因为答应送给齐国东部五百里的土地。齐国派使者来索要土地，怎么办呢？”子良说：“大王不可以不给它土地。大王说话一字千金，答应了强大的拥有一万辆战车的齐国而不给它土地，就会失信，以后就不能跟别的国家订立盟约了。请给



king to allow him to go back to Chu. The king stopped him and said, "If you cede five hundred square *li* of land in the eastern part of Chu to me, I will allow you to return. If not, you cannot go back." The crown prince said, "I have a tutor, and I am going to ask him for instructions." Mr Shen, the crown prince's tutor, said, "In order to protect yourself, you can cede the land to him. If you don't go back for your father's funeral because you don't want to lose the land, it's not righteous. So I think you can promise Qi the land." The crown prince went to the palace and reported to the king, "I will present you with five hundred *li* of land." Then the king of Qi permitted him to return to Chu.

The crown prince returned and took over the regime. Qi's king sent emissaries along with fifty chariots to Chu to ask for the eastern land. King Xiang asked Mr Shen, "Now Qi has sent emissaries here to ask for our eastern land. What shall I do?" Mr Shen said, "You can hold court tomorrow morning and ask all the high-ranking court officials to present their stratagems."

Zi Liang, the First Zhuguo, went to the court to see the king. The king said, "The reason that I could return from Qi to take charge of the funeral of our deceased sovereign, see you people again and maintain the state is that I have promised to cede five hundred *li* of our eastern land to Qi. Now Qi has sent emissaries here to ask for the land. What shall I do?" Zi Liang said, "I think you should give it the land. As a sovereign, you should not break your word. You have already promised the powerful Qi. If you don't keep



【原文】

结诸侯。请与而复攻之。与之，信；攻之，武。臣故曰与之。”

子良出，昭常入见。王曰：“齐使来求东地五百里，为之奈何？”昭常曰：“不可与也。万乘者，以地大为万乘。今去东地五百里，是去（战）国之半也。有万乘之号，而无千乘之用也，不可！臣故曰勿与。常请守之！”

昭常出，景鲤入见。王曰：“齐使来求东地五百里，为之奈何？”景鲤曰：“不可与也。虽然，楚不能独守。王身出玉声，许万乘之强齐也而不与，负不义于天下。楚亦不能独守，臣请西索救于秦。”

景鲤出，慎子入，王以三大夫计告慎子曰：“子良见寡人，曰：‘不可

【今译】

它然后再攻取它。给它土地是守信用，攻取它是表示我们的勇武。所以我说给它土地。”

子良出来后，昭常进宫拜见。楚襄王说：“齐国派使者来索要我国东部五百里的土地，该怎么办呢？”昭常说：“不能给它。拥有一万辆战车的大国是因为领土广大才号称拥有一万辆战车。如今割让东部五百里的土地，这就割走了我们的国土的一半，我们将空有万乘大国的虚名而没有一个千乘国家的实力了，不行。所以我说不要给它。我请求守卫那片土地。”

昭常出来后，景鲤进宫拜见。楚襄王说：“齐国派使者来索要我国东部五百里的土地，该怎么办呢？”景鲤说：“不能给它。虽然不给它，楚国也不能独自守御这块土地。大王说出的话一字千金，答应了拥有一万辆战车的强大的齐国而不给它，就会在天下各国中背负不义的名声。楚国也不能独自守御这块土地。我请求到西方向秦国求救。”

景鲤出来后，慎子进宫拜见。楚襄王把三个大夫的计策告诉了慎子，说：“子良来见我说：‘不可以不给它土地，先给了它然后再攻取它。’



your word, we won't be trusted by other states. Please give Qi the land now and we can later regain it by force. It is both honest and righteous to do so. So I suggest you give Qi the land."

Zi Liang left and Zhao Chang went to see the king. The king asked, "Now Qi has sent emissaries here to ask for five hundred *li* of our eastern land. What shall I do?" Zhao Chang said, "We shouldn't give it the land. Our state is recognized as a state with ten thousand chariots because we have a vast territory. If we cede five hundred *li* of our eastern land to Qi, our territory will be reduced by half. If this is the case, our state will only be a state with ten thousand chariots nominally, but won't have the might of a state with one thousand chariots. We shouldn't cede Qi the land. So I say 'No'. Please send me to defend the land."

Zhao Chang left and Jing Li went to see the king. The king said, "Now Qi has sent emissaries here to ask for five hundred *li* of our eastern land. What shall I do?" Jing Li said, "We should not cede the land to Qi. However, we cannot defend it alone. At any rate, as a sovereign, you should keep your word. Since you have already promised Qi, if we don't give it the land, people all over the world will consider us unrighteous. The state of Chu cannot keep this land itself. Please allow me to go to the west to ask Qin for help."

Jing Li left and Mr Shen went to see the king. The king informed him of the stratagems of those three high-ranking court officials and said, "When Zi Liang saw me, he said, 'We shouldn't refuse to give Qi the land. However, we can



【原文】

不与也，与而复攻之。’常见寡人，曰：‘不可与也，常请守之。’鯉见寡人，曰：“不可与也。虽然，楚不能独守也，臣请索救于秦。”寡人谁用于三子之计？”慎子对曰：“王皆用之。”王怫然作色，曰：“何谓也？”慎子曰：“臣请效其说，而王且见其诚然也。王发上柱国子良车五十乘，而北献地五百里于齐；发子良之明日，遣昭常为大司马，令往守东地；遣昭常之明日，遣景鲤车五十乘，西索救于秦。”王曰：“善。”乃遣子良北献地于齐。遣子良之明日，立昭常为大司马，使守东地。又遣景鲤西索救于秦。

子良至齐，齐使人以甲受东地。昭常应齐使曰：“我典主东地，且与死生。悉五尺至六十，三十余万，弊甲钝兵，愿承下尘！”齐王谓子良曰：

【今译】

昭常来见我说：‘不能给它，我请求守卫那片土地。’景鲤来见我说：‘不能给它。虽然不给它，楚国也不能独自守御这块土地，我请求到秦国求援。’这三个人中我该采用谁的计策呢？”慎子回答说：“大王全部采用他们的计策。”楚襄王愤怒地改变了脸色，说：“这是什么意思？”慎子说：“请让我解释一下自己的说法，大王就知道的确应该这样了。大王派上柱国子良率领五十辆战车，向北到齐国进献五百里的土地给它。派出子良的第二天，任命昭常为大司马，令他前去守卫东部的土地。派遣昭常的第二天，派景鲤率领五十辆车子，向西到秦国求救。”楚襄王说：“好。”于是派遣子良向北到齐国去进献土地。派出子良的第二天，任命昭常为大司马，让他守卫东部的土地。又派遣景鲤到西方向秦国求救。

子良来到齐国，齐国派使者带领武装的军队接管东部的土地。昭常对齐国的使者说：“我奉命守卫东部的土地，将要跟它共生死。从五尺的少年到六十岁的老人，我们共有三十多万人驻扎在这里，武器破弊，却愿意对阵一战。”齐王对子良说：“您来进献土地，如今昭常却在那



present them with the land now and take it back by force.' When Zhao Chang saw me, he said, 'We shouldn't give Qi the land. Please send me there to defend it.' When Jing Li saw me, he said, 'We shouldn't give Qi the land. However, we cannot defend it alone. Please allow me to go to the west to ask Qin for help.' Of the three of them, whose advice do you think I should take?" Mr Shen said, "You should use all of them." The king was angry. His expression changed and he said, "What do you mean?" Mr Shen said, "Please allow me to explain. Then you will see what I said is really right. You can send Zi Liang, the First Zhuguo, to lead fifty chariots to march to the north to present five hundred *li* of land to Qi. The day after Zi Liang is sent, you can appoint Zhao Chang to be Grand Sima (referring to minister of war) and send him to defend the eastern land. The day after Zhao Chang is sent, you can send Jing Li with fifty chariots to go to the west to ask Qin for help." The king said, "Good idea." Then he sent Zi Liang to travel towards the north to present the land to Qi. The next day, he appointed Zhao Chang to be Grand Sima and sent him to defend the eastern land. Then he sent Jing Li to go to the west to ask Qin for help.

Zi Liang arrived in Qi. Qi sent armed force to take over the eastern land. Zhao Chang told Qi's emissary, "I am in charge of defending the eastern land and am going to fight to the death to safeguard it. We have more than three hundred thousand troops here, including young boys five *chi* tall and old men in their sixties. Our weapons are of low quality. However, we are ready to confront you." Qi's king told Zi



【原文】

“大夫来献地，今常守之，何如？”子良曰：“臣身受命弊邑之王，是常矫也。王攻之！”齐王大兴兵攻东地，伐昭常。未涉疆，秦以五十万临齐右壤，曰：“夫隘楚太子弗出，不仁；又欲夺之东地五百里，不义。其缩甲则可，不然，则愿待战！”齐王恐焉，乃请子良南道楚，西使秦，解齐患。士卒不用，东地复全。

【今译】

里守卫着，该怎么办？”子良说：“我亲自从我们的君主那里接受的命令，一定是昭常假托楚王的命令，大王攻打他吧。”齐王派出大规模的军队攻打东部的土地，来讨伐昭常。齐国军队还没有进入东部土地的地界，秦国就派出五十万军队逼近了齐国西部边境。秦军声称：“阻拦楚太子不让他回国，是不仁；又想夺取楚国东部五百里的土地，是不义。如果你们撤兵还可以，不撤兵的话，我们愿意等着开战。”齐王很是惊恐，于是请子良向南回到楚国，派人向西出使秦国，来解除齐国面临的祸患。楚国没有动用军队就保全了东部的土地。

女阿谓苏子

【原文】

女阿谓苏子曰：“秦栖楚王，危太子者，公也。今楚王归，太子南，公必危。公不如令人谓太子曰：‘苏子知太子之怨己也，必且务不利太子。’”

【今译】

女阿对苏子说：“秦国扣押楚王，对楚太子构成威胁，都是您的主意。如今楚王回国，太子南归，您一定会有危险了。您不如派人对太子说：‘苏子知道太子怨恨自己，必定会做对太子不利的事情。太子不如’”



Liang, "You are here to present me the land, Sir. But Zhao Chang is there to defend it. What shall we do then?" Zi Liang said, "I took the order from our sovereign. Therefore, Zhao Chang must have issued an false order in our sovereign's name. You can attack him." Qi's king sent a huge army to approach the eastern land and attack Zhao Chang. Before these troops entered the eastern land, an army with five hundred thousand soldiers sent by the state of Qin approached Qi's western border, and the army declared, "It was not benevolent to stop Chu's crown prince from going home. And it is not righteous to try to seize five hundred *li* of the eastern land. We will forgive you if you withdraw your troops. Otherwise, we are going to launch an attack against you." Qi's king was terrified by this. He then asked Zi Liang to go southwards to return to Chu and also sent some emissaries to the west to make peace with Qin. Thus Chu maintained its eastern land successfully without using its officers and men at all.

Nü A Had a Talk with Suzi

Nü A had a talk with Suzi and said, "Because of you, Qin has detained the king of the state of Chu and severely threatened the crown prince of Chu as well. Now the king of Chu will return to his state. So will the crown prince. As a result, you will be in danger. You'd better send someone to inform the crown prince as follows: 'Suzi realizes that you are very hostile towards him. Therefore he will definitely focus

【原文】

太子不如善苏子，苏子必且为太子入矣。”苏子乃令人谓太子，太子复请善于苏子。

【今译】

亲善苏子，苏子必定会为太子回国效力了。”于是苏子派人告诉了太子，太子又请求跟苏子建立友好关系。



on doing anything to harm you. You'd better treat Suzi well. As a result, he will certainly help you return to your state. '” Suzi then asked someone to send this message to the crown prince. The crown prince begged to establish good relations with Suzi.



卷十六 楚 三

苏子谓楚王

【原文】

苏子谓楚王曰：“仁人之于民也，爱之以心，事之以善言；孝子之于亲也，爱之以心，事之以财；忠臣之于君也，必进贤人以辅之。今王之大臣父兄，好伤贤以为资，厚赋敛诸臣百姓，使王见疾于民，非忠臣也；大臣播王之过于百姓，多赂诸侯以王之地，是故退王之所爱，亦非忠臣也。是以国危。臣愿无听群臣之相恶也，慎大臣父兄，用民之所善，节身之

【今译】

苏子对楚王说：“仁人对于百姓，会用心地爱护他们，用善意的话抚慰他们；孝子对于父母，会用心地爱护他们，用钱财侍奉他们；忠臣对于君主，必会推荐贤人来辅佐君主。如今大王的大臣与父兄喜欢毁谤贤人来抬高自己，对臣民横征暴敛，使得大王被百姓嫉恨，他们不是忠臣；大臣们在百姓中散布大王的过错，拿大量土地来贿赂各国的君主，故意剥夺大王所珍爱的东西，他们也不是忠臣。因此国家陷入了危险。我希望您不要听信群臣互相败坏的话，谨慎地任用大臣与父兄，用百姓所喜爱的人为官，节制自己的嗜欲来安抚百姓。对于臣子来说，再也没有



The Third Volume on Chu

Suzi Had a Talk with Chu's King

Suzi had a talk with the king of the state of Chu and said, "A benevolent person takes good care of the people from the bottom of his heart and educates them with kind words. A dutiful son loves his parents from the bottom of his heart and spends a lot of money to make them live comfortably. A loyal court official certainly recommends worthy people to assist his sovereign. However, nowadays Your Majesty's high-ranking court officials and close relatives are all engaged in causing damage to the worthy and strive to enhance their own status and power. They collect huge amounts of money from officials at all levels and the common people. By doing so, they make the people hostile towards Your Majesty. They are not loyal court officials. The high-ranking court officials exaggerated your errors among the people and cede lots of territory to other states' sovereigns to bribe them. They deprive you of the things you cherish the most. They are not loyal court officials either. Accordingly, your state is in danger. I hope that you don't listen to high-ranking court officials' slanders aimed at defaming each other. Employ high-ranking court officials and close relatives cautiously. Appoint to your regime those who are admired by the people. Control your lust and thus please





【原文】

嗜欲以[安?]百姓。人臣莫难于无妒而进贤。为主死易，垂沙之事，死者以千数；为主辱易，自令尹以下，事王者以千数。至于无妒而进贤，未见一人也。故明主之察其臣也，必知其无妒而进贤也。贤之事其主也，亦必无妒而进贤。夫进贤之难者，贤者用且使己废，贵且使己贱，故人难之。”

【今译】

比不存忌妒心理而推荐贤人更难的了。为君主捐躯容易，垂沙一战，上千人丧命；为君主忍受屈辱容易，从令尹往下，侍奉大王的近千人。至于没有忌妒心而且推荐贤人，还没有见到过一个这样的人呢。所以，英明的君主考察他的大臣，必须要清楚他们没有忌妒心而且能推荐贤人。贤人侍奉自己的君主，也一定会不存忌妒心并且推荐贤士。推荐贤人是很难的，贤人被任用了，自己就会被免职，他们尊贵了，自己就会低贱，所以人们很难做到。”

苏秦之楚

【原文】

苏秦之楚，三(日)[月]乃得见乎王。谈卒，辞而行。楚王曰：“寡人闻先生，若闻古人。今先生不远千里而临寡人，曾不肯留，愿闻其说。”对曰：“楚国之食贵于玉，薪贵于桂，谒者难得见如鬼，王难得见如天帝。

【今译】

苏秦来到楚国，三个月才得以见到楚王。说完了话，就告辞离去。楚王说：“我听了先生的一番话，如同听到古人的教诲一般。如今先生不远千里来到我这里，却不肯留下来。我想听听这是怎么回事。”苏秦回答说：“楚国的粮食比玉还贵，楚国的柴草比桂枝还贵，拜见负责引见



the people. To court officials, the most difficult thing is to be rid of jealousy and recommend the worthy. It is easy to devote one's life to his sovereign. During the war in Chuisha, thousands of soldiers fought to the death. It is easy to bear humiliation for the sake of one's sovereign. There are nearly one thousand people at Your Majesty's service, including the prime minister. As for ignoring jealousy and recommending the worthy, I haven't witnessed such a person. Hence, when a wise sovereign assesses his court officials, he must be able to know who can ignore jealousy and recommend the worthy. A worthy person must ignore jealousy and recommend the worthy to serve his sovereign. It is difficult to recommend the worthy. When the worthy are employed, the recommender himself might be dismissed to make room for the former. When the worthy become powerful, the recommender himself might become powerless. Hence, it is very difficult to recommend the worthy."

Su Qin Arrived in Chu

After Su Qin arrived in the state of Chu, he wasn't been able to see the king till three days later. After he finished his talk with the king, he said good-bye and was ready to leave Chu. The king of Chu said, "I have heard your advice. It sounds like the teachings of ancient sages. Now you have troubled to travel one thousand *li* to my state, but you don't want to stay here. Please tell me your reason." Su Qin replied, "Food in your state is as expensive as jade. Firewood



【原文】

今令臣食玉炊桂，因鬼见帝。”王曰：“先生就舍，寡人闻命矣。”

【今译】

宾客的官员跟见鬼一样难，拜见大王跟见天帝一样难。如今让我吃玉，用桂枝生火做饭，通过鬼来拜见天帝。”楚王说：“先生回到宾馆住下吧，我听命就是了。”

楚王逐张仪于魏

【原文】

楚王逐张仪于魏。陈轸曰：“王何逐张子？”曰：“为臣不忠不信。”曰：“不忠，王无以为臣；不信，王勿与为约。且魏臣不忠不信，于王何伤？忠且信，于王何益？逐而听则可，若不听，是王令困也。且使万乘之国免其相，是城下之事也。”

【今译】

楚王把张仪驱逐出了魏国。陈轸说：“大王为什么驱逐张仪？”楚王说：“作为臣子，他不忠诚、不守信。”陈轸说：“不忠诚，大王不要任用他为臣子；不守信，大王不要跟他订立盟约。再说魏国的大臣不忠不信，对于大王有什么危害呢？既忠诚又守信，对于大王又有什么好处呢？您驱逐他，如果魏国听从还可以，假如不听从，这样一来，大王的命令就不能推行了。而且让拥有一万辆战车的魏国罢免相国，它会觉得跟城下之盟一样可耻呢。”

张仪之楚贫

【原文】

张仪之楚，贫，舍人怒而[欲]归。张仪曰：“子必以衣冠之敝，故欲

【今译】

张仪刚到楚国的时候很穷。门客们都很愤怒，想回去。张仪说：



in Chu is as expensive as cinnamon. To see the officials in charge of introducing guests to Your Majesty is as difficult as meeting a ghost. To see Your Majesty in person is as difficult as visiting God. But you asked me to eat food as expensive as jade, build cooking fires with firewood as expensive as cinnamon and visit God through the introduction of ghosts." The king said, "Please return to the hotel and live there. I will follow your advice."

Chu's King Was About to Drive Zhany Yi Out of Wei

The king of the state of Chu was about to drive Zhang Yi out of the state of Wei. Chen Zhen said, "Why do you want to drive Zhang Yi out of Wei?" "As a court official, he is neither loyal nor honest." "If he is not loyal, don't employ him as your own court official. If he is not honest, don't make any agreement with him. As a court official of the state of Wei, he is neither loyal nor honest. But does this cause any damage to you? Given that he were both loyal and honest, would it be of any use to you? If Wei listens to you and banishes him, there won't be any problem. If not, it means that your order cannot be carried out in another state. Moreover, forcing a state with ten thousand chariots to dismiss its prime minister will make Wei feel very shameful."

Zhang Yi Was Very Poor When He First Arrived in Chu

Zhang Yi was very poor when he first arrived in the state



【原文】

归。子待我为子见楚王。”当是之时，南后、郑袖贵于楚。

张子见楚王，楚王不说。张子曰：“王无所用臣，臣请北见晋君。”楚王曰：“诺。”张子曰：“王无求于晋国乎？”王曰：“黄金、珠玢、犀象出于楚，寡人无求于晋国。”张子曰：“王徒不好色耳？”王曰：“何也？”张子曰：“彼郑、周之女，粉白墨黑，立于衢间，非知而见之者，以为神。”楚王曰：“楚，僻陋之国也，未尝见中国之女如此其美也！寡人之独何为不好色也？”乃资之以珠玉。

南后、郑袖闻之，大恐，令人谓张子曰：“妾闻将军之晋国，偶有金千斤，进之左右，以供刍秣。”郑袖亦以金五百斤。

【今译】

“你们想必是因为衣帽破旧，所以才想回去。你们等着我为你们去拜见楚王。”正当这个时候，南后和郑袖很受楚王宠幸。

张仪拜见楚王，楚王很不喜欢他。张仪说：“如果大王觉得我没有用处，我请求北上去拜见晋国的君主。”楚王说：“好吧。”张仪说：“大王在晋国不需要什么东西吗？”楚王说：“黄金、珍珠、犀角、象牙等产于楚国，我不需要晋国的什么东西。”张仪说：“大王难道就不喜欢美女吗？”楚王说：“喜欢又怎么样？”张仪说：“郑国和周国的女子，皮肤白晰，头发乌黑，站在街市上，不知道的人看见她们，以为是神仙呢。”楚王说：“楚国地处偏远，还没有见过中原地区如此美丽的女子呢。我怎么能不喜欢美女呢？”于是送给张仪一些珍珠美玉。

南后和郑袖听到这个消息后非常担心。南后派人对张仪说：“我听说将军您要到晋国，碰巧手头有黄金一千斤，献给您的仆从，用来买些草料。”郑袖也给了他五百斤黄金。



of Chu. His guests were not satisfied with him and wanted to leave. Zhang Yi said, "The reason why you want to leave must lie in the fact that your clothes and hats are worn and we cannot afford new ones. But wait for a while. I am going to visit the king on your behalf." At that time, Queen Nan and Zheng Xiu were very much cherished by Chu's king.

Zhang Yi went to visit the king of Chu, but the king was not happy with him. Zhang Yi said, "If I am of no use to Your Majesty, I am going to travel to the north to visit the sovereign of the state of Jin." Chu's king said, "It's up to you." Zhang Yi asked him, "Don't you want anything from Jin?" The king said, "Valuable things such as gold, pearl, rhinoceros horn and ivory are all produced in my state. I don't need anything from Jin." Zhang Yi asked, "Don't you like beautiful women?" The king said, "What?" Zhang Yi said, "The girls of the states of Zheng and Zhou have powder-white faces and their hair is jet-black. They are so pretty that strangers consider them to be fairies when they see these girls standing on the street." The king said, "My state is remotely located. I have not seen such beautiful girls from the central part of China. How can I refuse beautiful girls?" Then he gave Zhang Yi some jade and pearls.

Queen Nan and Zheng Xiu were very afraid when they heard this news. The queen sent someone to inform Zhang Yi, "I heard that you are going to visit the state of Jin and I happen to have one thousand *jin* of gold on hand. I want to present it to you to imburse your journey." Zheng Xiu also gave him five hundred *jin* of gold.



【原文】

张子辞楚王，曰：“天下关闭不通，未知见日也，愿王赐之觴。”王曰：“诺。”乃觴之。张子中饮，再拜而请曰：“非有他人于此也，愿王召所便习而觴之。”王曰：“诺。”乃召南后、郑袖而觴之。张子再拜而请曰：“仪有死罪于大王。”王曰：“何也？”曰：“仪行天下遍矣，未尝见人如此其美也！而仪言得美人，是欺王也！”王曰：“子释之。吾固以为天下莫若是两人也。”

【今译】

张仪跟楚王辞别说：“天下各国关闭边塞，不能通行，不知什么时候才能再见到大王，希望大王赏我一杯酒。”楚王说：“好吧。”于是赐给张仪酒喝。张仪喝得恰到好处的时候，向楚王拜了两下请示说：“这里没有外人，请大王召唤您最宠爱的人一起喝酒吧。”楚王说：“好吧。”于是召来南后和郑袖一同饮酒。张仪又拜了两下请罪道：“我对大王犯下了死罪。”楚王说：“怎么回事？”张仪说：“我走遍天下，还没有见过跟她们一样美丽的女人呢。而我还说要为大王寻找美人，简直就是欺骗大王啊。”楚王说：“您放心吧。我本来就认为天下再也没有比她们两个更漂亮的了。”

楚王令昭睢之秦重张仪

【原文】

楚王令昭睢之秦重张仪。未至，惠王死。武王逐张仪，楚王因收昭

【今译】

楚王命令昭睢到秦国去让秦王重用张仪，昭睢还没到达秦国，秦惠王就死了。秦武王驱逐了张仪，于是楚王拘押了昭睢来讨好齐国。桓



Zhang Yi went to say good-bye to the king and said, "All the states in the world have closed their borders and refuse to communicate with others. I don't know when we will see each other again. So I hope Your Majesty can allow me to drink a cup of wine." The king said, "All right." Then he offered Zhang Yi some wine. As they drank, Zhang Yi bowed to the king twice and said, "Since the two of us are quite close to each other, why not call in your beloved ones so that we can enjoy the wine together?" The king said, "Well, I will do so." Then he called in Queen Nan and Zheng Xiu to join them. Zhang Yi bowed twice towards the king and said, "I deserve to be sentenced to death by Your Majesty." The king asked, "Why?" Zhang Yi replied, "I have travelled all over the world, but have not seen two such beautiful women before. As I offered to look for pretty girls for you, I feel very guilty that I have cheated Your Majesty in this respect." The king said, "Please don't feel guilty. I have already known that they are the two most beautiful women in the world."

Chu's King Sent Zhao Ju to Qin to Ask for More Power for Zhang Yi

The king of the state of Chu sent Zhao Ju to the state of Qin to ask for more power for Zhang Yi. Before Zhao Ju arrived in Qin, King Hui of Qin died. King Wu drove Zhang Yi out of the state of Qin. In order to pacify the state of Qi, the king of Chu banished Zhao Ju. On behalf of Zhao Ju,



【原文】

雎以取齐。桓臧为雎谓楚王曰：“横亲之不合也，仪贵惠王而善雎也。今惠王死，武王立，仪走，公孙郝、甘茂贵。甘茂善魏，公孙郝善韩，二人固不善雎也，必以秦合韩、魏。韩、魏之重仪，仪有秦而雎以楚重之。今仪困秦而雎收楚，韩、魏欲得秦，必善二人者。〔二人〕将收韩、魏，轻仪而伐楚，方城必危！王不如复雎而重仪于韩、魏。仪据楚势，挟魏重，以与秦争。魏不合秦，韩亦不从，则方城无患。”

【今译】

臧替昭雎对楚王说：“韩国、魏国和秦国之所以不能联合起来，是因为张仪受到秦惠王的重用并且跟昭雎关系友好的缘故。如今惠王死了，武王即位，张仪出走，公孙郝和甘茂显贵。甘茂跟魏国亲善，公孙郝跟韩国亲善，这两个人跟昭雎的关系本来就不好，必定会让秦国跟韩国和魏国结盟。韩国和魏国重视张仪，是因为张仪执掌秦国大权并且昭雎用楚国来支持他。如今张仪在秦国陷入困境，而且昭雎被楚国放逐，韩国和魏国想争取秦国，一定会对甘茂和公孙郝二人非常友善。他们两人将联合韩国和魏国，贬损张仪并且进攻楚国，方城必定要陷入危机了。大王不如重新任用昭雎并且让韩国和魏国重用张仪。张仪凭着楚国的势力，倚仗着魏国的权重，来跟秦国抗衡。魏国不跟秦国联合，韩国也不跟秦国联合，方城就没有忧患了。”



Huan Zang had a talk with the king of Chu and said, "The reason that the states of Qin, Han and Wei have failed to build an alliance lies in the fact that Zhang Yi used to be appointed to very powerful positions by King Hui and that Zhang Yi was a good friend of Zhao Ju. Now King Hui has died, and King Wu has come into power. Zhang Yi is in exile and Gongsun Hao and Gan Mao are becoming extremely powerful. Gan Mao is close to the state of Wei. And Gongsun Hao is close to the state of Han. These two people have already been at odds with Zhao Ju. Therefore they will definitely lead the state of Qin to unite with Han and Wei. Han and Wei used to attach importance to Zhang Yi because Zhang Yi was powerful and influential in Qin and was also backed by Zhao Ju with the power of the state of Chu. Now Zhang Yi is out of power in Qin and Zhao Ju has been banished by Chu. If Han and Wei want to win over Qin, they will be very friendly to these two persons (referring to Gan Mao and Gongsun Hao). If these two persons consort with Han and Wei, they will pose a threat to Zhang Yi and launch attacks against Chu. Thus the city of Fangcheng will be in danger. It would be better if Your Majesty invite Zhao Ju back and enhance Zhang Yi's power in Han and Wei. Then Zhang Yi can confront Qin with the might of Chu and the power of Wei. As a result, Wei won't unite with Qin, nor will Han build an alliance with Qin. Accordingly, Fangcheng will be free from trouble."

张仪逐惠施于魏

【原文】

张仪逐惠施于魏。惠子之楚，楚王受之。

冯郝谓楚王曰：“逐惠子者，张仪也。而王亲与约，是欺仪也，臣为王弗取也。惠子为仪者来，而恶王之交于张仪，惠子必弗行也。且宋王之贤惠子也，天下莫不闻也；今之不善张仪也，天下莫不知也。今为事之故，弃所贵于仇人，臣以为大王轻矣。且为事耶？王不如举惠子而纳之于宋，而谓张仪曰：‘请为子勿纳也。’仪必德王。而惠子穷人，而王奉之，又必德王。此不失为仪之实，而可以德惠子。”楚王曰：“善。”乃奉惠子而纳之宋。

【今译】

张仪把惠施驱逐出了魏国。惠施来到楚国，楚怀王收留了他。

冯郝对楚怀王说：“驱逐惠施的是张仪，而大王亲自跟惠施交好，这就是欺骗张仪。我认为大王这么做是不可取的。惠施因为张仪的缘故来到这里，使得大王跟张仪的交情恶化，惠施一定不会这么做的。而且宋王认为惠施贤能，天下的人都听说了。如今惠施和张仪关系不好，天下人也没有不知道的。现在大王为了这件事情，把您尊贵的客人推向自己的敌人，我觉得大王这么做太轻率了。那如何处理这件事呢？大王不如将惠施推荐到宋国去，而对张仪说：‘我是因为您才不肯接纳他的。’张仪一定会感激大王。惠施正处于穷途末路，而大王举荐了他，他也一定会感激大王。这样一来，既不失去跟张仪的交情，又可以让惠施感恩戴德。”楚怀王说：“好主意。”于是就把惠施推荐到了宋国。



Zhang Yi Drove Hui Shi Out of the State of Wei

Zhang Yi drove Hui Shi out of the state of Wei. Hui Shi went to Chu and the king of Chu accepted him.

Feng Hao told the king, "It was Zhang Yi who has driven Hui Shi out of Wei. Now you are very close to Hui. Thus you will hurt Zhang Yi's feelings. I don't think it is wise for you to do so. Hui Shi has come here because of Zhang Yi. However, Hui Shi doesn't want to harm the relationship between you and Zhang Yi because of him. In addition, the sovereign of Song considers Hui Shi a wise and capable person, and people all over the world have heard of this. Now Hui Shi and Zhang Yi are at odds with each other, and people all over the world know that too. Now due to this matter, you are going to discard the person you cherish the most (referring to Zhang Yi) and therefore give him the chance to serve your enemies. I personally think it is very indiscreet for you to do so. How should we deal with this matter then? I think you'd better recommend Hui Shi to Song's sovereign. Then you can tell Zhang Yi, 'I refuse to take him because I don't want to hurt your feelings.' Thus Zhang Yi will be very grateful to you. As for Hui Shi, since he has no place to go, if you recommend him to Song, he will be grateful to you too. Thus not only will you avoid hurting Zhang Yi's feelings, you can also do Hui Shi a favour." The king said, "Good idea." Then he recommended Hui Shi to Song and Song accepted Hui Shi.



五国伐秦

【原文】

五国伐秦，魏欲和，使惠施之楚。楚将入之秦而使行和，杜赫谓昭阳曰：“凡为伐秦者，楚也。今施以魏来，而公入之秦，是明楚之伐而信魏之和也。公不如无听惠施，而阴使人以请听秦。”昭子曰：“善。”因谓惠施曰：“凡为攻秦者，魏也。今子从楚为和，楚得其利，魏受其怨。子归，吾将使人因魏而和。”惠子反，魏王不说。

杜赫谓昭阳曰：“魏为子先战，折兵之半，谒病不听，请和不得，魏折而入齐、秦，子何以救之？东有越累，北无晋，而交未定于齐、秦，是楚孤

【今译】

五个国家联合起来攻打秦国，魏国想讲和，派惠施来到楚国。楚国将要让他到秦国去讲和，杜赫对昭阳说：“主张攻打秦国的是楚国。如今惠施从魏国来，而您让他去秦国，这样一来，就明确表示了楚国要进攻秦国而魏国真心讲和。您不如不听从惠施，而暗地里派人跟秦国讲和来拉拢它。”昭阳说：“好。”于是就对惠施说：“主张进攻秦国的是魏国。如今您站在楚国的立场上跟秦国讲和，楚国会受益，魏国会怨恨您。您回去吧，我将派人通过魏国跟秦国讲和。”惠施返回魏国，魏王很不高兴。

杜赫对昭阳说：“魏国军队为您打头阵，兵力损失了一半，他们因为疲惫不堪而请求歇息，您不允许，请求讲和也不行。如果魏国转而投靠齐国和秦国，您还有什么办法补救吗？东边有越国带来的忧患，北边失去了魏国的支持，而且跟齐国和秦国的邦交还没有建立，这样一来，楚



Five States Attacked Qin

Allied forces built up by five states attacked the state of Qin. The state of Wei wanted to make peace with Qin, so Wei sent Hui Shi to Chu. Chu wanted to send Hui Shi to Qin to make peace with it. Du He told Zhao Yang, "It was Chu that advocated attacking Qin. Now Hui Shi has come here from the state of Wei, and you are going to send him to Qin to negotiate a ceasefire. It simply shows it is Chu that plans to attack Qin while Wei sincerely wants to make peace. You'd better not listen to Hui Shi. In the meantime, you can send someone to Qin to negotiate with it in secret." Zhao Yang said, "Good idea." Then he told Hui Shi, "It is Wei that has advocated attacking Qin. Now you are going to represent our state to make peace with Qin. Chu will benefit, but the people of Wei will be bitter towards you. Please go back to your state. I will send someone else to make peace with Qin on behalf of your state." Hui Shi returned to Wei, and the king of Wei was very unhappy with him.

Du He had a talk with Zhao Yang and said, "The troops of Wei fought in the van for you and lost a half of their military forces at the front. They prayed for rest because of exhaustion, but you didn't listen to them. They wanted to make peace with Qin, but you didn't allow them to do so. If Wei turns to consorting with Qi and Qin, is there anything you can do to remedy it? There is aggression by the state of Yue in the east. Now we will lose the support of Wei in the



【原文】

也。不如速和。”昭子曰：“善。”因令人谒和于魏。

【今译】

国就孤立了。不如立即讲和。”昭阳说：“好。”于是派人到魏国议和。

陈轸告楚之魏

【原文】

陈轸告楚之魏。张仪恶之于魏王曰：“轸犹善楚，为求地甚力。”左爽谓陈轸曰：“仪善于魏王，魏王甚信之。公虽百说之，犹不听也。公不如以仪之言为资，而得复楚。”陈轸曰：“善。”因使人以仪之言闻于楚。楚王喜，欲复之。

【今译】

陈轸辞别了楚国来到魏国。张仪在魏王面前说他的坏话道：“陈轸还是一心向着楚国的，十分卖力地为楚国割取土地。”左爽对陈轸说：“张仪跟魏王的关系非常好，魏王十分信任他。您即便百般解释，还是不会被听信的。您不如利用张仪的话，从而得以再度回到楚国。”陈轸说：“好。”于是派人到楚国散布张仪的话。楚王很高兴，果然想再度起用陈轸。

秦伐宜阳

【原文】

秦伐宜阳。楚王谓陈轸曰：“寡人闻韩(侈)[伋]巧士也，习诸侯事，

【今译】

秦国军队进攻宜阳。楚王对陈轸说：“我听说韩(侈)[伋]是个机智的人，熟悉诸侯之间的事情，能自免于危亡。因为他必定能免于危亡，



north. Moreover, we haven't established good relations with Qi and Qin. Under such circumstances, our state is isolated. We'd better make peace with Wei as soon as possible." Zhao Yang said, "All right." Then he sent someone to the state of Wei to negotiate making peace with the state of Qin.

Chen Zhen Left Chu for Wei

Chen Zhen left the state of Chu for the state of Wei. Zhang Yi spoke ill of him in front of the king of Wei and said, "Chen Zhen's heart is still with the state of Chu. Therefore he would do whatever he can to gain more territory for Chu." Zuo Shuang told Chen Zhen, "Zhang Yi and the king of Wei are very close to each other. The king trusts Zhang Yi very much. Although you might explain for one hundred times, he won't believe you. It would be better if you go back to the state of Chu through the agency of these words of Zhang Yi." Chen Zhen said, "Fine." Then he sent someone to spread Zhang Yi's words in the state of Chu. The king of Chu was very happy with him and wanted him to come back to his state.

Qin Attacked Yiyang

The troops of the state of Qin attacked the city of Yiyang (which then belonged to the state of Han). The king of Chu told Chen Zhen, "I heard that Han Peng is a very intelligent person and familiar with the situations and affairs of all the



【原文】

殆能自免也。为其必免，吾欲先据之以加德焉。”陈轸对曰：“舍之，王勿据也！以韩（侈）[傴]之知，于此困矣！今山泽之兽，无黠于麋。麋知猎者张罔前而驱己也，因还走而冒人。至数，猎者知其诈，伪举罔而进之，麋因得矣。今诸侯明知此多诈，伪举罔而进者必众矣。舍之，王勿据也！韩（侈）[傴]之知，于此困矣！”楚王听之，宜阳果拔。陈轸先知之也。

【今译】

我想先占领宜阳来对他施加恩德。”陈轸回答说：“放弃这个想法吧，大王不要占领宜阳。尽管韩（侈）[傴]机智，到了这一步也走投无路了。如今山泽之中的野兽没有比麋子更狡猾的了。麋子知道猎人在前面张起了网，然后驱赶自己，就掉头往回跑并且撞着了人。几次反复后，猎人知道它狡诈，就假装张起了网而靠近它，于是麋子就被捕获了。如今诸侯明知他很狡诈，假装张网靠近他的一定会很多。放弃这个想法吧，大王不要占领宜阳。即便韩（侈）[傴]机智，到了这一步也走投无路了。”楚王听从了陈轸的劝告，宜阳果然被攻克了。陈轸事先就预见到了这一点。

唐且见春申君

【原文】

唐且见春申君曰：“齐人饰身修行得为益，然臣羞而不学也。不避绝江河，行千余里来，窃慕大君之义而善君之业。臣闻之，賁、诸怀锥刃

【今译】

唐且拜见春申君，说：“齐国人修养自己的德行而得到爵禄，然而我耻于学习他们的做法。我不避开大江大河，奔走一千多里路到这里来，因为我私下仰慕您的大义而且赞赏您的大业。我听说，孟贲和专诸操



states. He could almost stop Yiyang from being occupied. For this reason, I want to take over Yiyang first to provide some benefit to him." Chen Zhen replied, "Don't bother. You shouldn't occupy Yiyang. Although Han Peng is intelligent, he will find himself thwarted this time. Among all the animals in the mountains and lakes, the elk is the cleverest. When an elk realizes that a hunter has set up a net ahead and will chase it, it will turn around to run backwards although it might bump into some people on the way. After this is repeated several times, the hunter will notice that the elk is very crafty. So he will pretend that he has set up a net and then approach the elk. Thus the elk will be caught. Now other states' sovereigns know that Han Peng is sly. So there might be many people pretending to have set up a net and then approaching him. Give up the plan of occupying Yiyang. Although Han Peng is intelligent, he won't find a way out this time." The king of Chu took Chen Zhen's advice. Yiyang was defeated as expected. Chen Zhen had foreseen this result.

Tang Ju Visited Lord Chunshen

Tang Ju paid a visit to Lord Chunshen and said, "The people of the state of Qi gain positions and salaries by improving their behaviour and cultivating their virtues. But I feel ashamed to do so. The reason why I have crossed big rivers and travelled more than one thousand *li* here lies in the fact that I personally admire your righteousness and



【原文】

而天下为勇，西施衣褐而天下称美。今君相万乘之楚，御中国之难，所欲者不成，所求者不得，臣等少也。夫梟棋之所以能为者，以散棋佐之也。夫一梟之不如、不胜五散，亦明矣。今君何不为天下梟，而令臣等为散乎？”

【今译】

着锥子和刀子，天下人还是认为他们英勇；西施穿着粗布衣服，天下人还是认为她美丽。如今您做拥有一万辆战车的楚国的相国，抵御中原地区国家的入侵，自己的愿望不能实现，自己的要求不能达到，是像我这样的人太少的缘故。梟棋之所以有威力，是因为有散棋辅佐它。一个梟棋不能战胜五个散棋，也是非常明显的。如今您为什么不做天下的梟棋，而让我这样的人做您的散棋呢？”

achievements. I heard that even though Meng Ben and Zhuan Zhu might only use a club or a dagger, people in the world would consider them brave. Even though Xi Shi might only wear coarse clothes, people in the world would regard her as beautiful. Now you serve as prime minister of a state with ten thousand chariots and shoulder the task of confronting the aggression launched by those states located in the central part of China. However, you cannot fulfill your wishes and obtain the things you want, because you don't have people like me serving you. The reason why a Xiao is powerful lies in the fact that there are other chessmen assisting it. And it is obvious that a Xiao alone cannot defeat five ordinary chessmen at the same time. Why not act as a Xiao yourself, and let people like me serve you as your ordinary chessmen?"



卷十七 楚 四

或谓楚王

【原文】

或谓楚王曰：“臣闻从者欲合天下以朝大王，臣愿大王听之也。夫因拙为信，(旧)[奋]患有成，勇者义之；摄祸为福，裁少为多，知者官之。夫报报之反，墨墨之化，唯大君能之。祸与福相贯，生于亡为邻。不偏于死，不偏于生，不足以载大名；无所寇艾，不足以横世。夫秦捐德绝命之日久矣，而天下不知。今夫横人噬口利机，上干主心，下牟百姓，公举而私取利，是以国权轻于鸿毛，而积祸重于丘山。”

【今译】

有人对楚王说：“我听说主张合纵的人想联合天下各国来朝拜大王，我希望大王能听从他们的意见。凭借着屈曲达到伸张，迫于忧患，奋发图强而取得成功，勇敢的人应该这么做；把灾祸转变为福分，积少成多，智慧的人会这么做。物极必反，无声无息的变化，只有‘大人’能够通晓。祸与福相辅相成，生与死密不可分。为正义当死而苟生，为正义当生而轻死，则不足以承载巨大的美名；不经历战争灾祸，不足以横行于世。秦国捐弃道德、不顾性命已经很长时间了，然而天下人却不知道。如今主张连横的人花言巧语、投机取巧，向上迎合君主的心意，向下从百姓中渔利，假公济私。因此国家大权比鸿毛还轻，累积的灾祸比大山还重。”





Book 17

The Fourth Volume on Chu

Someone Had a Talk with Chu's King

Someone had a talk with the king of the state of Chu and said, "I heard that the people advocating Hezong are going to unite with other states' sovereigns to submit to Your Majesty. I hope that you will listen to them. Brave people should fulfill their goals by yielding to the situation first and achieve success based on former failure. Wise people can turn misfortunes into happiness and make a mickle by accumulating small things. Things will develop in the opposite direction when they go to extremes, and changes take place unrecognized. Only the wisest people can understand this. Fortune and misfortune are interconnected. Life and death cannot be separated. Don't focus on surviving or seeking death exclusively, otherwise you cannot gain a great reputation. Don't focus on killing, otherwise a most powerful state cannot be established. The state of Qin has discarded its virtues and people's lives for a long time. However, people of the world haven't realized this. Now the people advocating Lianheng seek self-interest with their blandishments. They pander to sovereigns, take advantage of the people and focus on jobbery. As a result, the power of those states will become as light as feathers, and the disasters accumulated will be as heavy as hills."

魏王遗楚王美人

【原文】

魏王遗楚王美人，楚王说之。夫人郑袖知王之说新人也，甚爱新人。衣服玩好，择其所喜而为之；宫室卧具，择其所善而为之。爱之甚于王。王曰：“妇人所以事夫者，色也；而妒者，其情也。今郑袖知寡人之说新人也，其爱之甚于寡人，此孝子之所以事亲，忠臣之所以事君也。”

郑袖知王以己为不妒也，因谓新人曰：“王爱子美矣。虽然，恶子之鼻。子为见王，则必掩子鼻。”新人见王，因掩其鼻。王谓郑袖曰：“夫新人见寡人，则掩其鼻，何也？”郑袖曰：“妾知也。”王曰：“虽恶，必言之。”

【今译】

魏王送给楚怀王一个美人，楚怀王很喜欢她。夫人郑袖得知怀王喜欢新来的美人，就非常呵护她。凡是穿的、玩的，都挑选她最喜欢的给她；宫室卧具，也挑选她最喜欢的给她。对她的呵护超过了楚怀王。楚怀王说：“女人用来侍奉丈夫的，就是自己美丽的容颜。而忌妒是女人的常情。如今郑袖知道我喜欢新来的美人，对她呵护的程度超过了我。这如同孝子侍奉父母、忠臣侍奉君主一般啊。”

郑袖知道怀王以为自己不嫉妒了，于是对新来的美人说：“大王很喜欢你的美貌。虽然如此，却讨厌你的鼻子。你如果见了大王，一定要把鼻子捂起来。”新来的美人见到楚怀王，就把鼻子捂了起来。楚怀王对郑袖说：“新来的美人见到我就捂起鼻子，这是怎么回事？”郑袖说：“我知道的。”楚怀王说：“即便不是什么好事，也一定要说出来。”郑袖





Wei's King Presented a Beautiful Woman to Chu's King

Wei's king presented Chu's king with a beautiful woman and Chu's king loved her very much. Madame Zheng Xiu knew that the king loved the new concubine, so she also took good care of the concubine. She presented the concubine with everything she liked the most, such as clothes and toys. She also gave the concubine the best rooms and furniture to please her. She cared for the concubine much more than the king did himself. The king said, "The only thing women can use to attract their husbands is their beauty. It is very natural that women are always jealous of each other and vie with each other for their husbands' love. Even though Zheng Xiu knows that I like the new concubine, she still takes good care of her and does much better than I do. she is acting the way loyal court officials serve their sovereigns or dutiful sons treat their parents."

Zheng Xiu realized that the king thought she was not jealous of the new concubine. Then she told the new concubine, "His Majesty loves your beauty, but he dislikes your nose. Therefore, when you meet him, you should cover your nose." As a result, the new concubine covered her nose when she met the king. The king told Zheng Xiu, "Every time the new concubine sees me, she covers her nose. What's the reason?" Zheng Xiu said, "I know the reason." The king said, "You must tell me even though it might be something unpleasant." Zheng Xiu said, "Probably she hates



【原文】

郑袖曰：“其似恶闻王之臭也。”王曰：“悍哉！”令劓之，无使逆命。

【今译】

说：“她好像讨厌闻大王身上的味道。”楚怀王说：“竟敢如此刁蛮！”下令割掉她的鼻子，任何人不得违背命令。

楚王后死

【原文】

楚王后死，未立后也。谓昭鱼曰：“公何以不请立后也？”昭鱼曰：“王不听，是知困而交绝于后也。”“然则，[何]不买五双珥，令其一善而献之王？明日，视善珥所在，因请立之。”

【今译】

楚国的王后死了，还没有立新的王后。有人对昭鱼说：“您何不请大王立王后呢？”昭鱼说：“如果大王不听我的，我的谋划就会落空，而且还会彻底得罪新王后。”“既然如此，为何不买五副耳环，其中的一副异常精美，把它们献给大王？第二天看看那副最精美的戴在谁身上，就请求立她为王后。”

庄辛谓楚襄王

【原文】

庄辛谓楚襄王曰：“君王左州侯，右夏侯，辇从鄢陵君与寿陵君，专淫逸侈靡，不顾国政，郢都必危矣！”襄王曰：“先生老悖乎？将以为楚国

【今译】

庄辛对楚襄王说：“大王您左边有州侯伺候，右边有夏侯伺候，车子后面还有鄢陵君和寿陵君跟随着，一味地淫逸放纵，奢华腐败，不顾国家大事，郢都必定要陷入危机了。”楚襄王说：“先生老糊涂了吧？还以



your smell." The king said, "What a virago!" Then he ordered the concubine's nose to be cut off and no one was allowed to defy this decree.

The Queen of Chu Died

The queen of the state of Chu died and the new queen was still not nominated. Someone told Zhao Yu, "Why not ask the king to nominate a new queen?" Zhao Yu said, "Well, if the king doesn't listen to me, not only will my plan result in failure, but I will also offend the one who will become the new queen.

"Why not buy five pairs of earrings and make sure that only one pair among them is extremely fine? Then you present them to the king and see which woman will wear the best one the next day. Then, you can ask the king to nominate that woman."

Zhuang Xin Had a Talk with King Xiang of the State of Chu

Zhuang Xin had a talk with King Xiang of the state of Chu and said, "Marquis Zhou is always on your left side to take care of you, and Marquis Xia is on your right. In addition, whenever you go out, Lord Yanling and Lord Shouling follow your carriage to attend to you. You are leading such a luxurious and immoderate life and totally overlook government affairs. The capital of Ying will be in danger." King Xiang said, "Are you getting muddle-headed



【原文】

祆祥乎？”庄辛曰：“臣诚见其必然者也，非敢以为国祆祥也。君王卒幸四子者不衰，楚国必亡矣！臣请辟于赵，淹留以观之。”庄辛去，之赵，留五月，秦果举鄢、郢、巫、上蔡、陈之地。襄王流掩于城阳，于是使人发骑征庄辛于赵。庄辛曰：“诺。”

庄辛至，襄王曰：“寡人不能用先生之言，今事至于此，为之奈何？”庄辛对曰：“臣闻鄙语曰：‘见兔而顾犬，未为晚也；亡羊而补牢，未为迟也。’臣闻昔汤、武以百里昌，桀、纣以天下亡。今楚国虽小，绝长续短，犹以数千里，岂特百里哉？”

“王独不见夫蜻蛉乎？六足四翼，飞翔乎天地之间，俯啄蚊虻而食

【今译】

为楚国有什么不祥之兆？”庄辛说：“我确实预见到了这种必然结果，不敢认为楚国有什么不祥之兆。如果大王对这四个人的宠幸一直不衰减，楚国必定会灭亡的。我请求到赵国回避一下，留在那里观察情势发展的结果。”庄辛离开楚国来到了赵国，在那里呆了五个月，秦国果然攻取了鄢、郢、巫、上蔡、陈等地区。楚襄王流亡到城阳，于是派人驾车到赵国请庄辛回来。庄辛说：“好的。”

庄辛回来了，楚襄王说：“我没有采纳先生的意见，事情到了今天这般地步，该怎么办呢？”庄辛回答说：“我听到有一句俗话说：‘看到兔子再回头唤狗，还不算太晚；丢了羊再去修补羊圈，还不算太迟。’我听说从前商汤和周武王凭借着一百里的土地昌盛起来，夏桀和商纣拥有天下却亡国了。如今楚国虽然变小了，取长补短，还有几千里呢，难道只是一百里吗？”

“大王难道没有看见蜻蜓吗？它们有六只脚、四个翅膀，在天地之



because of your old age? Or do you think my state is haunted by evil spirits?" Zhuang Xin said, "I can clearly foresee the development of the situation. And I dare not think our state is being haunted. If Your Majesty don't stop doting on these four aforementioned people, the state of Chu will be ruined. I want to ask for your permission to stay in the state of Zhao and observe the development of the situation of our state from there." Then Zhuang Xin went to Zhao. Five months later, Qin attacked Yan, Ying, Wu, Shangcai, Chen and occupied these places as expected. King Xiang escaped to Chengyang. Then he had carriages prepared and sent an emissary to Zhao to call Zhuang Xin back. Zhang Xin said, "I will go back."

When Zhuang Xin arrived, King Xiang said, "I am suffering because I did not take your advice. What shall we do then?" Zhuang Xin replied, "I have heard of a saying: 'It is not too late to call out the dog after you detect the hare. And it is not too late to repair your sheep pen after you find that one of your sheep is missing.' I heard that previously, based on only one hundred square *li* of land, Tang of the Shang Dynasty and King Wu of the Zhou Dynasty both established prosperous kingdoms. However, the kingdoms of Jie, the last Son of Heaven of the Xia Dynasty, and Zhou, the last Son of Heaven of the Shang Dynasty, were defeated even though they both previously owned the whole world. Now although our territory has been reduced, we still have several thousand square *li*. Isn't that far more than one hundred *li*?"

"Haven't you seen the dragonflies? Each of them has six legs and four wings. They fly high in the sky, catch



【原文】

之，仰承甘露而饮之，自以为无患，与人无争也。不知夫五尺童子，方将调(铤)[饴]胶丝，加己乎四仞之上，而下为蝼蚁食也。

“蜻蛉其小者也，黄雀因是以。俯嚼白粒，仰栖茂树，鼓翅奋翼，自以为无患，与人无争也。不知夫公子王孙，左挟弹，右摄丸，将加己乎十仞之上，以其(类)[颈]为招。昼游乎茂树，夕调乎酸咸。倏忽之间，坠于公子之手。

“夫[黄]雀其小者也，黄鹄因是以。游于江海，淹乎大沼，俯嚼鲙鲤，仰啖蒹衡，奋其六翮，而凌清风，飘摇乎高翔，自以为无患，与人无争也。不知夫射者方将修其弇卢，治其缯缴，将加己乎百仞之上，(彼)

【今译】

间飞翔，向下啄蚊蚋吃，向上接甘美的露水喝，自以为没有什么祸患，跟别人没有什么争端，却不知道少年正调和着粘浆、缠绕着蛛丝，在离地四仞的高空中将它们捕获，在地上成为蝼蚁的食物。

“蜻蜓只是一个小小的例子，黄雀也是这样的。它们在低处啄食米粒，栖息在高处茂密的树枝上，展翅飞翔，自以为没有什么祸患，跟别人没有什么争端，却不知道公子王孙左手握着弹弓，右手捏着弹丸，将在离地十仞的高空中飞翔的它们瞄准，把它们的脖子作为目标。白天在茂密的树丛中游戏，晚上就被调和了酸咸的佐料，成为饭桌上的菜肴了。它们在一刹那间就落在公子王孙手中。

“黄雀还只是个小小的例子，黄鹄也是这样的。它们在大江大海上飞翔，在大湖中栖息，向下啄食鲙鱼鲤鱼，向上吃着菱角香草。鼓动羽翼，乘着清风，在高空中飘然飞翔，自己以为没有什么祸患，跟别人也没有什么争端，却不知道射手正修整弓箭、调整弓弦，将在百仞的高空中飞翔的它们瞄准，它们将带着利箭，拖着丝绳，划破清风坠落下来。所



mosquitoes and other small insects below for food and drink sweet dew above. They consider themselves to be safe and aloof from all kinds of disputes. However, they don't know that children are concocting a glue and collecting cobwebs to catch them four *ren* above in the sky. Then they will become the food of ants and mole crickets. This case of the dragonflies is only a small example.

"The case of the yellowbirds is the same. They peck seeds below to feed themselves and perch in exuberant trees. They fly freely in the sky and consider themselves to be safe and secure from all disputes. However, they don't know that the children of some powerful and influential families are holding catapults in their left hands and pills in their right to aim at their necks to shoot them ten *ren* above in the sky. They will fall into the hands of these young men all of a sudden. Although they enjoy themselves in the exuberant trees during the day, they will be cooked with some seasoning and become delicious food for others in the evening.

"The case of the yellowbirds is only a small example. The case of the swans is the same. They enjoy flying over big rivers or the sea and inhabit great lakes. They eat fish in the water below and feed on water chestnuts or herbs above. They spread their wings and fly freely high in the sky. They consider themselves to be safe and secure from all disputes. However, they don't know that archers are repairing their bows, adjusting their strings and aiming at them one hundred *ren* above in the sky. As a result, they will be hit by the arrows and fall to earth towing the strings. Although they fly



【原文】

[被]磔磔，引微缴，折清风而抃矣。故昼游乎江河，夕调乎鼎鼐。

“夫黄鹄其小者也，蔡圣侯之事因是以。南游乎高陂，北陵乎巫山，饮茹溪[之]流，食湘波之鱼，左抱幼妾，右拥嬖女，与之驰骋乎高蔡之中，而不以国家为事。不知夫子发方受命乎宣王，系己以朱丝而见之也。

“蔡圣侯之事其小者也，君王之事因是以。左州侯，右夏侯，(辈)[辈]从鄢陵君与寿陵君，饭封禄之粟，而戴方府之金，与之驰骋乎云梦之中，而不以天下国家为事。不知夫穰侯方受命乎秦王，填颍塞之内，而投己乎颍塞之外。”

襄王闻之，颜色变作，身体战栗。于是乃以执珪而授之为阳陵君，

【今译】

以白天还在江河上飞翔，晚上就在锅中被烹制成菜肴了。

“黄鹄只是个小小的例子，蔡圣侯的事情也是这样的。他南游高陂，北登巫山，喝的是茹溪的水，吃的是湘江的鱼，左手抱着年轻的小妾，右手拥着宠爱的美女，跟她们乘车在国内尽情游玩，而不关心国家大事，却不知道子发从楚宣王那里接到命令，用红色的绳索把他捆绑起来去见宣王。

“蔡圣侯的事情只是个小小的例子，大王您的事情也是这样的。大王您左边有州侯伺候，右边有夏侯伺候，车子后面还有鄢陵君和寿陵君跟随着，吃着封地进贡的粮食，用车载着国库的钱财，跟他们在云梦泽驰骋游乐，而不关心天下与国家大事，却不知道穰侯正从秦王那里接到命令，率领军队占领了颍塞以南，而把您驱赶到了颍塞以北。”

楚襄王听到这些话，吓得变了脸色，身体战栗。于是授予庄辛执珪



over big waters during the day, they will be cooked in huge pots in the evening.

"The case of the swans is only a small example. The case of Marquis Sheng of the state of Cai is the same. He visited lofty hills in the south and tramped over Mount Wu in the north. He drank water from the Ruxi River and ate fish from the Xiangjiang River. Moreover, he used to be surrounded by young and beautiful women and took a carriage to travel all across the state of Cai to amuse himself with them. He totally ignored government affairs and didn't know that Zi Fa was taking order from King Xuan of Chu to truss him up with red ropes and then take him to the king.

"The case of Marquis Sheng of Cai is only a small example, but your current situation is the same. You used to be accompanied by Marquis Zhou and Marquis Xia and were taken good care by them all the time. Whenever you went out, there were Lord Yanling and Lord Shouling attending you behind your carriage. You consumed the grain produced by your fiefs, carried the money from the national depots on your carriages and travelled across Yunmeng to entertain yourself. You left the world and the government affairs of Chu in total oblivion. However, you didn't know that Marquis Rang was taking orders from the king of the state of Qin to deploy Qin's troops southward to occupy Miansai (the name of a pass) and drive your people to the north."

When King Xiang heard this, his expression changed and he began to tremble. So he appointed Zhuang Xin to be Zhigui, proclaimed him Lord Yanling and gave him the land



【原文】

与淮北之地也。

【今译】

的爵位，并封他为阳陵君，赐给他淮北的土地。

齐明说卓滑以伐秦

【原文】

齐明说卓滑以伐秦，滑不听也。齐明谓卓滑曰：“明之来也，为樗里疾卜交也。明说楚大夫以伐秦，皆受明之说也，唯公弗受也。臣有辞以报樗里子矣。”卓滑因重之。

【今译】

齐明劝说卓滑攻打秦国，卓滑没有听从。齐明对卓滑说：“我来这里，是为樗里疾试探交情。我劝说楚国的大夫进攻秦国，他们都接受了我的意见，只有您不接受。我有话禀报樗里疾了。”卓滑因此而重视齐明的话。

或谓黄齐

【原文】

或谓黄齐曰：“人皆以谓公不善于富挚。公不闻老莱子之教孔子事君乎？示之其齿之坚也，六十而尽，相靡也。今富挚能，而公重不相善也，是两尽也。谚曰：‘见君之乘，下之；见杖，起之。’今也，王爱富挚，而公不善也，是不臣也。”

【今译】

有人对黄齐说：“人们都认为您对富挚不友好。您难道没有听说老子教导孔子如何侍奉君主的故事吗？让他看牙齿有多坚硬，到了六十岁的时候却掉光了，是因为互相磨擦的缘故。如今富挚很有才能，而您却对他很不友好，这是两败俱伤啊。有句俗话说：‘看到君主的车子，就要下马；看到扶杖的老人，就要起立。’如今大王非常钟爱富挚，然而您却对他不友好，就不是一个臣子的本分。”



of the Huaibei area.

Qi Ming Advised Zhuo Hua to Attack Qin

Qi Ming advised Zhuo Hua to attack the state of Qin, but Zhuo Hua didn't listen to him. Then Qi Ming told Zhuo Hua, "I came here to test the relationship between you people and Chu Liji. I have persuaded the high-ranking court officials of Chu to attack Qin, and all of them have agreed to take my advice. You are the only one rejecting me. I will report it to Chu Liji." Zhuo Hua then attached importance to Qi Ming's advice.

Someone Had a Talk with Huang Qi

Someone had a talk with Huang Qi and said, "Everyone knows that you are hostile towards Fu Zhi. Haven't you ever heard of the story of Laozi teaching Kongzi how to serve his sovereign? He showed Kongzi his teeth. Although they were very firm, they would fall out at the age of sixty, because teeth decay all the time. Now Fu Zhi is a capable person. However, you are very unfriendly to him. You two are internecine. A saying says, 'Alight from you carriage when you encounter that of His Majesty. Stand up when you encounter old people walking with the help of crutches.' At present, Fu Zhi is cherished by His Majesty. But you are unfriendly to him. From this point of view, you cannot be regarded as a dutiful court official."

长沙之难

【原文】

长沙之难，楚太子横为质于齐。楚王死，薛公归太子横，因与韩、魏之兵，随而攻东国。太子惧。昭盖曰：“不若令屈署以新东国为和于齐，以动秦。秦恐齐之败东国而令行于天下也，必将救我。”太子曰：“善。”遽令屈署以东国为和于齐。秦王闻之，惧，令(辛)[牟]戎告楚曰：“毋与齐东国！吾与子出兵矣。”

【今译】

长沙一战，楚国太子横到齐国做人质。楚王死了，薛公让太子横回国，接着联合韩国和魏国的军队，随后进攻楚国东部地区，太子很恐惧。昭盖说：“不如派屈署把东部地区献给齐国跟它讲和，用这来触动秦国。秦国担心齐国占领了东部地区从而在天下发号施令，必定会营救我们。”太子说：“好。”立即命令屈署把东部地区献给齐国来讲和。秦王听说了这件事，很担心，命令(辛)[牟]戎告诉楚国说：“不要把东部地区送给齐国，我跟你们一同出兵。”

有献不死之药于荆王者

【原文】

有献不死之药于荆王者，谒者操以入。中射之士问曰：“可食乎？”曰：“可。”因夺而食之。王怒，使人杀中射之士。中射之士使人说王曰：

【今译】

有人给楚王进献长生不老药，负责引见宾客的官员拿着药进了宫。宫廷侍卫问道：“可以吃吗？”负责引见宾客的官员说：“可以。”于是他就夺过来吃了。楚王很愤怒，让人杀死宫廷侍卫。宫廷侍卫让人劝说楚





The War in Changsha

During the war in Changsha, Heng, the crown prince of the state of Chu, was sent to the state of Qi as a hostage. The king of Chu died. The lord of Xue sent Heng back to Chu. Then the lord allied his forces with the states of Han and Wei to invade the eastern region of Chu. The crown prince was scared. Zhao Gai said, "We'd better send Qu Shu to present the eastern region to Qi to make peace with it. Thus we may irritate the state of Qin. Qin will fear that Qi might issue orders to other states in the world after taking over the eastern region. So its troops will come to our rescue." The crown prince said, "Good idea." Immediately, he ordered Qu Shu to present the eastern region to Qi and to negotiate a ceasefire. When the king of Qin heard of this, he was frightened. He sent Mi Rong to inform Chu, "Don't give Qi your eastern region! I will dispatch my troops to assist you in confronting Qi."

Someone Presented a Pill for Immortality to Chu's King

Someone presented a pill for immortality to the king of the state of Chu. The officer in charge of receiving guests took it and entered the palace. A palace guard asked the officer, "Is it eatable?" "Yes," said the officer. Then the guard seized it and swallowed it. The king was angry and told his people to kill the guard. The guard sent someone to advise



【原文】

“臣问谒者，谒者曰可食，臣故食之。是臣无罪而罪在谒者也。且客献不死之药，臣食之而王杀臣，是死药也。王杀无罪之臣，而明人之欺王。”王乃不杀。

【今译】

王道：“我问负责引见宾客的官员，他说可以吃，所以才吃了。我没有罪，有罪的是负责引见宾客的官员。再说客人进献长生不死的药，我吃了它，大王就把我杀了，这就成了致死的药了。大王杀死无罪的我，就表明献药的人是在欺骗大王。”于是楚王没有杀他。

客说春申君

【原文】

客说春申君曰：“汤以亳，武王以鄣，皆不过百里以有天下。今孙子，天下贤人也，君籍之以百里势，臣窃以为不利于君。何如？”春申君曰：“善。”于是使人谢孙子。孙子去之赵，赵以为上卿。

客又说春申君曰：“昔伊尹去夏入殷，殷王而夏亡；管仲去鲁入齐，鲁弱而齐强。夫贤者之所在，其君未尝不尊，国未尝不荣也。今孙子，

【今译】

有个客人游说春申君道：“汤凭借亳，武王凭借鄣，都是方圆不超过一百里的地盘，而占有了天下。如今荀子是天下的贤人。您用一百里土地助长他的势力，我私下认为这么做对您是不利的。您认为怎么样？”春申君说：“说得好。”于是派人打发掉荀子。荀子离开后到了赵国，赵王让他做了上卿。

又有个客人游说春申君道：“从前伊尹离开夏朝到殷都，殷朝统一了天下而夏朝灭亡了；管仲离开鲁国来到齐国，鲁国削弱而齐国强大起来。贤人所在的国家，它的君主没有不尊贵的，国家没有不荣耀的。如



the king as follows: "I asked the officer in charge of receiving guests and he told me that one can eat the pill for immortality. So I ate it. In this case, I am innocent and the officer is guilty. Moreover, our guest has presented this pill for immortality. Your Majesty is going to kill me because I ate it. Thus it is nothing but a deadly poison. If you kill an innocent person like me, you are showing others that the guest is cheating you." So the king absolved him.

A Guest Had a Talk with Lord Chunshen

A guest had a talk with Lord Chunshen and said, "Based on Bo and Hao, two places less than one hundred square *li* each, Tang and King Wu unified the whole world respectively. As for Xunzi, he is a worthy person of the world. You have conferred one hundred *li* of territory on him to consolidate his power. I personally think that is of no use to you. What do you think of it?" Lord Chunshen said, "I see." Then he ordered someone to send Xunzi away. Xunzi left for the state of Zhao and Zhao appointed him as highest-ranking court official.

Another guest had a talk with Lord Chunshen and said, "Previously Yi Yin left the regime of the Xia Dynasty for the Yin Dynasty, then the Xia Dynasty was toppled but the Yin Dynasty unified the world. Guan Zhong left the state of Lu for the state of Qi, then Lu became weaker but Qi became stronger. Where there is a worthy person, the sovereign will surely become powerful and the state honourable. As for



【原文】

天下贤人也，君何辞之？”春申君又曰：“善。”于是使人请孙子于赵。

孙子为书谢曰：“病人怜王，此不恭之语也。虽然，不可不审察也，此为劫弑死亡之主言也。夫人主年少而矜材，无法术以知奸，则大臣主断国，私以禁诛于己也，故弑贤长而立幼弱，废正适而立不义。《春秋》戒之曰：‘楚王子围聘于郑，未出竟，闻王病，反，问疾，遂以冠纓绞王，杀之，因自立也。齐崔杼之妻美，庄公通之。崔杼帅其君党而攻。庄公请与分国，崔杼不许；欲自刃于庙，崔杼不许。庄公走出，逾于外墙，射中

【今译】

今荀子是天下的贤人，您为什么把他打发走了？”春申君说：“说得好。”于是派人到赵国去请荀子回来。

荀子写了一封信谢绝春申君，说：“患有脓疮的人声称哀怜国君，这是不恭敬的话。即便如此，也不可以不审察这句话，这是对被劫持、被杀死的君主说的。君主年纪轻轻，自恃有才干，却没有办法察知奸情，大臣就会独断国家大事、谋求私利，为了使自己避免受到诛杀而谋杀贤明年长的君主、拥立幼小软弱的人，废除正义、推行不义。《春秋》中警告说：‘楚国的王子围要到郑国去，还没有出境，听说楚王生病，就返回来问候，于是就用帽带把楚王勒死了，趁机自立为王。齐国崔杼的妻子美貌，庄公跟她私通。崔杼率领自己的党羽进攻庄公。庄公请求跟崔杼共分齐国，崔杼不答应；想在宗庙里自杀，崔杼不允许。庄公逃跑出



Xunzi, he is a worthy person of the world. Why did you send him away?" Again Lord Chunshen said, "I see." Then he sent someone to Zhao to invite Xunzi to come back to his state.

Xunzi wrote a letter to reject the lord's proposal, and it said, "If a man suffering from festering declares that he pities his sovereign, we might condemn him for not showing homage to the sovereign. However, this case should be assessed at any rate (by sovereigns). I refer to those sovereigns who are coerced or killed by high-ranking court officials. If a sovereign is a fledgling, thinks overly highly of himself and has no means to discern evil conduct, high-ranking court officials will take control over the state to benefit themselves and prevent themselves from being legally sentenced to death. Hence, they will murder the wise and elder sovereign and enthrone a childish and weak one. They will also discard justice and practice injustice. *The Spring and Autumn Annals* warns, 'In the state of Chu, Prince Wei was about to leave for the state of Zheng. Before he reached the border of Chu, he heard that the king of Chu was sick. So he went back to comfort the king. Then he strap the king with his hat string and killed the king. Afterwards, he enthroned himself as the new king. In the state of Qi, Cui Zhu had a very beautiful wife. Duke Zhuang, then the king of Qi, had a love affair with Cui Zhu's wife. Cui Zhu led his people to attack Duke Zhuang. Duke Zhuang offered to share the state with Cui Zhu, but Cui Zhu didn't agree. Duke Zhuang wanted to commit suicide at the ancestral temple, but Cui Zhu didn't allow him to do so either. Duke Zhuang



【原文】

其股，遂杀之，而立其弟景公。’近代所见：李兑用赵，饿主父于沙丘，百日而杀之；淖齿用齐，擢闵王之筋，县于其庙梁，宿夕而死。夫疒虽痈肿胞疾，上比前世，未至绞纓射股；下比近代，未至擢筋而饿死也。夫劫弑死亡之主也，心之忧劳，形之困苦，必甚于疒矣。由此观之，疒虽怜王可也。”因为赋曰：“宝珍隋珠，不知佩兮；袿布与丝，不知异兮。閭姝子奢，莫知媒兮；嫫母求之，又甚喜兮。以瞽为明，以聋为聪，以是为非，以吉

【今译】

来，翻过外墙的时候，崔杼射中了他的大腿，接着杀死了他，而后拥立他的弟弟景公即位。’近代所见到的：李兑执掌赵国大权，把赵武灵王弄到沙丘挨饿，一百天后把他杀死了；淖齿执掌齐国，抽了齐闵王的筋，把他悬挂在宗庙的梁头上，闵王当晚就死去了。肿胀的脓疮虽然是种病，跟前世相比，比不上用帽带勒死君主或射中君主大腿严重；跟近代相比，不如抽君主的筋或者把君主饿死。劫持、谋杀君主，内心的忧劳、外表的困苦必定比生脓疮厉害多了。由此看来，虽然患有脓疮的人声称哀怜国君，也是可以的。”为此事作了一首赋道：“珍贵的宝物和隋侯的珍珠，不知道佩戴；粗布与丝绸，不懂得分辨。閭姝和子都，没有人为她（他）们说媒；嫫母受到追求，又受人喜欢。认为瞎子视力好，认为聋子听力佳，把对的当作错，把吉利当作凶。哎哟，上天啊！为什么都是这



escaped. When he was trying to climb over the outer palace wall, Cui Zhu shot at him in his thigh and then killed him. After that, Cui Zhu designated Duke Zhuang's younger brother as the new king who was known as Duke Jing. ' In recent times, we have witnessed such cases; when Li Dui was in power in the state of Zhao, he let Zhu Fu, also known as King Wuling of Zhao, starve in Shaqiu. He killed the king one hundred days later. When Zhuo Chi was in power in the state of Qi, he pulled out King Min's sinews and hung him the girder of the ancestral temple. The king died on the same night. Although festering is a disease, it is much better compared with strapping a sovereign or shooting a sovereign's thigh in ancient times and pulling out a sovereign's sinews or letting a sovereign starve to death in contemporary times. People planning to coerce or murder their sovereigns must design their actions deliberately in the heart as well as bother to take physical action. This must be even worse than suffering from festering. From this point of view, a man suffering from festering can pity a sovereign." Then Xunzi wrote a poem as follows: "No one would wear precious jade or Marquis Sui's pearl. No one can tell the difference between coarse clothes and fine silk fabrics. No one would make a match for Lü Shu and Zi Du (referring to the most beautiful woman and the most handsome man respectively). Every man would aspire after Mo Mu (referring to the ugliest woman) and think highly of her appearance. People consider the blind to be of perfect eyesight, regard the deaf to be of perfect hearing and take right for wrong, auspicious for ominous. My



【原文】

为凶。呜呼上天，曷维其同！”《诗》曰：“上天甚神，无自瘵也！”

【今译】

样？”《诗经》中说：“上天很神明，不要自寻灾祸。”

天下合从

【原文】

天下合从。赵使魏加见楚春申君，曰：“君有将乎？”春申君曰：“有矣，仆欲将临武君。”魏加曰：“臣少之时好射，臣愿以射譬之，可乎？”春申君曰：“可。”加曰：“异日者，更羸与魏王处京台之下，仰见飞鸟。更羸谓魏王曰：‘臣为王引弓虚发而下鸟。’魏王曰：‘然则射可至此乎？’更羸曰：‘可。’有间，雁从东方来，更羸以虚发而下之。魏王曰：‘然则射可至此乎！’更羸曰：‘此孽也。’王曰：‘先生何以知之？’对曰：‘其飞徐而鸣悲。飞徐者，故疮痛也；鸣悲者，久失群也。故疮未息而惊心未（至）’

【今译】

天下诸侯联合起来对抗秦国，赵国派魏加到楚国去拜见春申君，对他说：“您有大将军吗？”春申君说：“我准备任命临武君为大将军。”魏加说：“我小的时候喜欢射箭，我想用射箭的例子给您打个比方，可以吗？”春申君说：“可以。”魏加说：“从前有一天，更羸跟魏王站在一个高台下面，抬头看见空中飞翔的鸟儿。更羸对魏王说：‘我能只拉空弓、不用射箭就替大王把鸟射下来。’魏王说：‘您的射技竟然可以达到这种程度吗？’更羸说：‘可以的。’过了一会儿，一只大雁从东方飞过来，更羸只拉动空弓，它就掉了下来。魏王说：‘您的射技竟达到了这种程度！’更羸说：‘这只鸟有伤。’魏王说：‘您怎么知道的呢？’更羸回答说：‘它飞得很慢，而且鸣叫的声音很悲哀。飞得慢，是因为它的伤口还在作痛；鸣声悲哀，是因为它失群好长时间了。它的旧伤还没有痊愈，心中还很惊



God! Why are people all the same?" It is said in *Shijing*, "Heaven is extremely holy. Don't bring disasters to yourself."

All the Other States United with Each Other to Counteract Qin

All the states were uniting with each other to counteract the state of Qin. The state of Zhao sent Wei Jia to the state of Chu to meet Lord Chunshen, and Wei Jia asked the lord, "Have you appointed a Commander-in-Chief?" "I am thinking of appointing Lord Linwu to be Commander-in-Chief," said the lord. Wei Jia said, "When I was young, I was very interested in archery. I want to give you an example with a story related to archery. Can I do this?" Lord Chunshen said, "Yes, of course." Wei Jia said, "Once Geng Lei and the king of Wei were standing in front of a high platform. They saw some birds flying in the sky. Geng Lei told the king, 'Your Majesty, I can shoot a bird for you by simply pulling the bow but without launching any arrow.' The king asked, 'Can the technique of archery really reach such an extent?' Geng Lei said, 'Yes, it can.' After a while, there was a swan flying towards them from the east. Geng Lei shot it down by just pulling the bow. The king asked, 'How can the technique of archery really reach such an extent?' Geng Lei said, 'Because this swan was hurt before.' The king asked, 'How did you know this?' Geng Lei replied, 'Well, it flew very slowly and its honk sounded very sad. It flew slowly, because it still ached because of the old wound. Its honk sounded sad,



【原文】

[去]也。闻弦音，引而高飞，故疮[裂而]陨也。’今临武君尝为秦孽，不可为拒秦之将也！”

【今译】

恐。一听到弓弦拉动的声音，就展翅高飞，旧伤复发就掉落下来了。’临武君曾经是秦国手下的败将，不可以任命他做抗击秦国的大将军。”

汗明见春申君

【原文】

汗明见春申君，候问三月，而后得见。谈卒，春申君大说之。汗明欲复谈，春申君曰：“仆已知先生，先生(大)[休]息矣。”汗明慨焉曰：“明愿有问君而恐固。不审君之圣孰与尧也？”春申君曰：“先生过矣，臣何足以当尧？”汗明曰：“然则君料臣孰与舜？”春申君曰：“先生即舜也。”汗明曰：“不然，臣请为君终言之。君之贤实不如尧，臣之能不及舜。夫以贤舜事圣尧，三年而后乃相知也。今君一时而知臣，是君圣于尧，而臣

【今译】

汗明求见春申君，等候了三个月，才有机会见到。交谈完毕，春申君非常欣赏他。汗明想继续交谈，春申君说：“我已经了解先生了，先生休息一下吧。”汗明不安地说道：“我有一个问题想请问您，却担心问得太唐突。不知道您跟尧相比，谁更圣明？”春申君说：“先生错了，我怎么能够跟尧相比呢？”汗明说：“那么您认为我跟舜相比，谁更有才能呢？”春申君说：“您跟舜一样有才能。”汗明说：“不是这样的，请让我为您把话说完。论贤能，您实际比不上尧；论才能，我比不上舜。凭着贤能的舜侍奉圣明的尧，三年以后他们才互相了解对方。现在您一下子



because it had left its group and remained alone for a long time. Its old wound had not healed, and it still felt scared. When it heard me pulling the bow, it must have tried to spread its wings and fly high. However, the old wound broke again and it fell down to the ground.' Lord Linwu was badly defeated by the troops of Qin before. In this case, he is similar to that swan and therefore should not be appointed to be Commander-in-Chief to confront Qin."

Han Ming Met Lord Chunshen

Han Ming wanted to pay a visit to Lord Chunshen, but he didn't obtain a chance to meet the lord till three months later. After they finished talking, Lord Chunshen appreciated Han Ming very much. Han Ming wanted to talk with him further, but the lord said, "Now that I have known you, you can go back and have a rest." Han Ming felt very disappointed and said, "I want to ask you a question but don't know whether or not it is too brusque to ask such a question. Who do you think is wiser, you or Yao?" Lord Chunshen said, "You are wrong. How can I be mentioned in the same breath with Yao?" Han Ming asked further, "Who do you think is more capable, Shun or I?" Lord Chunshen said, "You are as capable as Shun." Han Ming said, "You are wrong. Please allow me to finish my words. In fact, you are not as wise as Yao, and I am not as capable as Shun. However, though Yao was wise and Shun was capable, when Shun worked for Yao, Yao didn't realize his capability until



【原文】

贤于舜也。”春申君曰：“善。”召门吏为汗先生著客籍，五日一见。

汗明曰：“君亦闻骥乎？夫骥之齿至矣，服盐车而上太行。蹄申膝折，尾湛腭溃，漉汁洒地，白汗交流，中阪迁延，负辕不能上。伯乐遭之，下车攀而哭之，解紵衣以幂之。骥于是俯而喷，仰而鸣，声达于天，若出金石声者，何也？彼见伯乐之知己也。今仆之不肖，阨于州部堀穴穷巷，沉湫鄙俗之日久矣，君独无意湔拔仆也，使得为君高鸣屈于梁乎？”

【今译】

就了解我了，这就是说您比尧圣明而我比舜更有才能啊。”春申君说：“说得好。”找来负责守卫的官吏，把汗明的名字登记在宾客簿上，五天跟他见一次面。

汗明说：“您听说过骥的故事吗？骥成年以后，拉着盐车攀登太行山。它伸着蹄子、弯着腿拉车，尾巴低垂，蹄掌溃烂，流出的口水拖到地上，全身大汗淋漓，中途停下来，驾着车辕不能前进。伯乐遇见它，下了车抚摸着它哭泣，脱下自己的麻布衣服给它披上。于是骥低头喷气，仰头鸣叫，声音响彻云霄，如同金玉互相撞击一般，为什么会这样？骥发现伯乐是个知己。如今我没有出息，处在底层，境遇困顿，住在陋巷，被鄙陋的习俗熏染已经很长时间了。您难道不想推荐提拔我，让我为您高声申诉在楚国所受的冤屈吗？”

楚考烈王无子

【原文】

楚考烈王无子，春申君患之，求妇人宜子者进之，甚众，卒无子。

【今译】

楚国的考烈王没有儿子，春申君很担忧，寻找有生育能力的女人进献给他，找了很多女人，终究还是没有生子。



three years later. Now that you have known me for a short while, we can draw the conclusion that you are wiser than Yao and I am more capable than Shun." Lord Chunshen said, "I see." Then he ordered the officer in charge of defence to register Mr Han as one of his guests. And they met each other once every five days.

Han Ming said, "Have you heard the story of Ji (the name of a swift horse in Chinese legend)? After Ji grew up, it pulled a cart of salt to climb Mount Taihang. Its tail hanging, it extended its hooves to move forward. Its hooves rankled, its spittle dribbled to the ground, and it became sweaty and could not go further. It stopped halfway. When Bo Le saw the horse, he got off his carriage, pulled its rein and started to cry. He then took off his clothes and put them on the animal. Ji lowered its head to sniff. Then it looked up towards the sky and neighed. The sound echoed to the skies and was like gold and jade bumping into each other. Why? Because it realized that Bo Le was a confidant. I am very unworthy. I am of very low status, live in a poor area and have been used to indecent customs for a long time. Don't you intend to recommend me and appoint me to a suitable position so that I can announce the grievance you have experienced here in the state of Chu?"

King Kaolie of Chu Had No Son

King Kaolie of the state of Chu had no son. Lord Chunshen was worried about this. So he looked for many



【原文】

赵人李园持其女弟，欲进之楚王，闻其不宜子，恐又无宠。李园求事春申君为舍人，已而谒归，故失期。还谒，春申君问状。对曰：“齐王遣使求臣女弟，与其使者饮，故失期。”春申君曰：“聘人乎？”对曰：“未也。”春申君曰：“可得见乎？”曰：“可。”于是园乃进其女弟，即幸于春申君。知其有身，园乃与其女弟谋。园女弟承间说春申君曰：“楚王之贵幸君，虽兄弟不如。今君相楚王二十余年，而王无子，即百岁后将更立兄弟。即楚王更立，彼亦各贵其故所亲，君又安得长有宠乎？非徒然

【今译】

赵国人李园想把自己的妹妹进献给考烈王，听说他不能生育，又担心她不受到宠幸。李园请求侍奉春申君，做了他的舍人，过了一段时间，请求回家探亲，故意不按时回来。回来后拜见春申君，春申君问他怎么回事。李园回答说：“齐王派使者来向我的妹妹求婚，我跟他的使者饮酒，所以耽误了回来的日期。”春申君问：“聘礼送来了吗？”李园回答说：“没有。”春申君问：“可以见见你妹妹吗？”李园说：“可以。”于是李园就把他的妹妹带来了，立即受到春申君宠幸。知道她怀孕了，于是李园就跟他的妹妹一同谋划。李园的妹妹找个机会游说春申君道：“楚王对您的宠信，即便是亲生兄弟也比不上。如今您做楚王的相国已二十多年了，然而大王却没有儿子。假如他去世了，他的兄弟就会被立为王。假如别人做了楚王，他也是安排自己所亲近的人做高官，您又怎能



women having the potential of giving birth to baby boys and presented them to the king. However, the king still had no son.

Li Yuan, a man from the state of Zhao, was about to present his younger sister to the king. He heard that the king was incapable of making women pregnant, so he feared that the king might not cherish his sister. Li Yuan begged to serve Lord Chunshen as a private officer. After a short time, he asked for Lord Chunshen's permission to go home to visit his family. He purposedly didn't come back on time. After he returned, he went to report to Lord Chunshen. The lord asked why he came back late. He replied, "The king of the state of Qi sent emissaries to my home to make a proposal to marry my younger sister. I had a drink with the emissaries. So I missed the deadline." Lord Chunshen asked, "Have you received the betrothal money?" Li Yuan replied, "Not yet." Lord Chunshen asked, "Can I take a look at your sister?" Li Yuan said, "Yes, you can." So Li Yuan introduced his sister to the lord and soon the lord had sex with her. After Li Yuan's sister became pregnant, Li Yuan made a secret plan with her. She then took the opportunity to speak with Lord Chunshen and said, "His Majesty cherishes you very much and treats you better than his own brothers. Till now you have served as prime minister of the state of Chu for more than twenty years. However, His Majesty still has no son. Therefore, once he passes away, one of his brothers will be enthroned to be the new sovereign. After his successor comes into power, he will also employ people he loves. If this is the



【原文】

也，君用事久，多失礼于王兄弟，兄弟诚立，祸且及身，奈何以保相印、江东之封乎？今妾自知有身矣，而人莫知。妾之幸君未久，诚以君之重而进妾于楚王，王必幸妾。妾赖天而有男，则是君之子为王也，楚国封尽可得，孰与其临不测之罪乎？”春申君大然之，乃出园女弟谨舍，而言之楚王。楚王召入，幸之。遂生子男，立为太子，以李园女弟立为王后。楚王贵李园，李园用事。李园既入其女弟为王后，子为太子，恐春申君语泄而益骄，阴养死士，欲杀春申君以灭口，而国人颇有知之者。

【今译】

长期受到宠信呢？还不仅仅如此呢。您执政的时间太长了，对大王的兄弟经常有失礼的地方，如果大王的兄弟即位，灾祸很快就降临到您身上了，又怎能保住相国这个职位并且保全江东的封地呢？如今我知道自己已经有身孕了，而别人却不知道。我受您宠幸的时间不长，如果凭借着您的权势把我进献给楚王，大王一定会宠幸我。假如苍天保佑让我生下个男孩，那就是您的亲生儿子做楚王了，把楚国全部的土地封给自己也是可能的，难道不比背负不测的罪名好吗？”春申君认为她说得非常合理，于是让李园的妹妹离开自己家，另外给她提供住处，并且把她介绍给考烈王。考烈王召见她，她受到宠幸。于是生下一个男孩，被立为太子，把李园的妹妹立为王后。楚王宠信李园，李园执掌楚国大权。

李园把他妹妹弄到宫中做了王后，她的儿子立为太子，恐怕春申君把这事泄露出去并越来越骄横，他偷偷豢养为他效死的武士，想杀掉春申君灭口，可是国内有不少人知道了这件事。



case, how can you maintain your power thereafter? Moreover, you have been in power for a long time, and you often offend His Majesty's brothers. If one of his brothers will be enthroned as expected, you will soon be in trouble. Under such circumstances, how can you maintain your position as prime minister and keep your fief located east of the Yangzi River? I know that I am now pregnant, but no one else knows this. Since we have been lovers for only a short time, you should present me to His Majesty through your power. He is sure to fall in love with me. If God blesses me and I am fortunate enough to give birth to a baby boy, it means that your own son will become king. You can obtain all the territory of the state of Chu. Isn't this much better than facing unknown punishments?" Lord Chunshen totally agreed with her. Then he sent her away and arranged for her to live in another building. After that, he introduced her to King Kaolie. The king called for her and fell in love with her. Then she gave birth to a baby boy and the boy was nominated crown prince. Li Yuan's sister was appointed to be queen of Chu. King Kaolie cherished Li Yuan, and Li Yuan became very powerful and governed the state. After Li Yuan's sister was appointed to be queen and her son to be crown prince, Li Yuan feared that Lord Chunshen might divulge the secret. He also became more and more arrogant. He decided to kill his accomplice—Lord Chunshen, so he secretly supported warriors who would fight to the death on his behalf. However, some people in the state of Chu guessed at Li Yuan's scheme.



【原文】

春申君相楚二十五年，考烈王病。朱英谓春申君曰：“世有无妄之福，又有无妄之祸。今君处无妄之世，以事无妄之主，安不有无妄之人乎？”春申君曰：“何谓无妄之福？”曰：“君相楚二十余年矣，虽名为相国，实楚王也。五子皆相诸侯。今王疾甚，旦暮且崩，太子衰弱。疾而不起，而君相少主，因而代立当国，如伊尹、周公，王长而反政。不即，遂南面称孤，因而有楚国。此所谓无妄之福也。”春申君曰：“何谓无妄之祸？”曰：“李园不治国，王之舅也；不为兵将，而阴养死士之日久矣。楚王崩，李园必先入，据本议制断君命，秉权而杀君以灭口。此所谓无妄

【今译】

春申君做楚国相国的第二十五年，考烈王病重。朱英对春申君说：“世上有不可预料的福分，也有不可预料的灾祸。如今您处在不可预料的世道，侍奉不可预料的国君，怎能没有不可预料的人呢？”春申君问：“什么叫不可预料的福分？”朱英说：“您做楚国相国二十多年了，虽然名义上是相国，实际上却跟楚王一样。您五个儿子都做各国诸侯的重臣。如今大王病重，随时都会去世，太子弱小。假如大王不能康复，您就会辅佐年幼的君主，因而代他独断处理国家大事，如同伊尹和周公那样，大王长大后把政权交还给他。否则，就自己南面称王，从而占有楚国。这就是所谓的不可预料的福分。”春申君问：“什么叫不可预料的灾祸？”朱英说：“李园不主持国家大事，却是大王的亲舅；不做军中将领，却偷偷豢养为他效死的武士好长时间了。楚王去世了，李园一定会抢先下手，按他本来的意思操纵您的性命，掌握大权并且杀掉您来灭口。这就



Twenty-five years after Lord Chunshen was installed as prime minister of the state of Chu, King Kaolie became severely ill. Zhu Ying had a talk with Lord Chunshen and said, "In the world, there are unexpected fortunes as well as unexpected misfortunes. Now you are living in an unexpectable time and serving an unexpectable sovereign. How can you not have unexpected people?" Lord Chunshen asked, "What are unexpected fortunes?" Zhu Ying replied, "You have been prime minister of the state of Chu for more than twenty years. Although you are nominally prime minister, in fact you are the real king of Chu. Your five sons all hold powerful positions in other states. Now the king is very ill and might pass away at any time. However, the crown prince is young and weak. If His Majesty does not recover, you will be the one to assist the young successor. Thus you can govern the state for him and become as powerful as Yi Yin and Duke Zhou used to be. After the king grows up, you can devolve the authority of the state to him. Otherwise, you can declare yourself king of Chu and thus totally control the state of Chu. This can be called an unexpected fortune." Lord Chunshen asked further, "What are unexpected misfortunes?" Zhu Ying replied, "Li Yuan is not in charge of government affairs, however, he is the new king's uncle. He holds no position in the military force, however, he has for a long time been secretly paying warriors ready to fight to the death for him. After His Majesty passes away, Li Yuan will be the first one to come to the palace. He will kill you to keep that secret as he has designed by right of



【原文】

之祸也。”春申君曰：“何谓无妄之人？”曰：“君先仕臣为郎中，君王崩，李园先入，臣请为君剗其胸，杀之。此所谓无妄之人也。”春申君曰：“先生置之，勿复言已！李园，软弱人也，仆又善之，又何至此？”朱英恐，乃亡去。

后十七日，楚考烈王崩，李园果先入，置死士止于棘门之内。春申君后入，止棘门。园死士夹刺春申君，斩其头，投之棘门外，于是使吏尽灭春申君之家。而李园女弟初幸春申君有身，而人之王所生子者，遂立为楚幽王也。

是岁，秦始皇立九年矣，嫪毐亦为乱于秦。觉，夷三族，而吕不韦废。

【今译】

是所谓的不可预料的灾祸。”春申君说：“什么叫不可预料的人？”朱英说：“您先安排我做郎中，大王去世后，李园抢先入宫，就请让我为您刺他的胸膛，把他杀了。这就是所谓的不可预料的人。”春申君说：“先生把这个想法放下吧，不要再说了。李园是个软弱的人，我待他又很好，他又怎么会做这种事呢？”朱英害怕了，于是就逃亡了。

过了十七天，楚考烈王去世，李园果然抢先入宫，把为他效死的武士安置在棘门内。春申君后进宫，在棘门被拦截。李园的武士夹击春申君，砍下他的头，扔到棘门外，于是派官兵把春申君的家人全部杀死了。而当初受到春申君宠幸的李园妹妹被进献到考烈王宫中后生下的儿子就被立为楚幽王。

这一年是秦始皇即位的第九年，嫪毐也在秦国作乱。秦始皇察觉了，诛灭其三族，而吕不韦也被免职。

虞卿谓春申君

【原文】

虞卿谓春申君曰：“臣闻之（《春秋》）：‘于安思危，危则虑安。’今楚

【今译】

虞卿对春申君说：“我从《春秋》里听说：‘居安思危，危则思安。’如



his power. This can be considered as an unexpected misfortune." Lord Chunshen asked again, "Who are unexpected people?" Zhu Ying said, "You can appoint me as Langzhong in advance. After His Majesty passes away, if Li Yuan enters the palace first, I will stab him in the chest and kill him for you. A person like me can be called an unexpected person." Lord Chunshen said, "Give this up! Don't mention it again. Li Yuan is a weak person, and I am very friendly with him. How can he do things like this?" Zhu Ying became frightened and fled.

Seventeen days later, King Kaolie died. As expected, Li Yuan went to the palace first. He deployed his warriors within the Ji Gate. Lord Chunshen went to the palace later and was intercepted at the Ji Gate. Li Yuan's warriors stabbed him from both sides, beheaded him and threw his head out of the Ji Gate. Then Li Yuan sent officers to uproot Lord Chunshen's clan. The son of Li Yuan's sister, who became pregnant by Lord Chunshen and then entered the palace, was enthroned as the new sovereign of Chu and addressed as King You. During the same year—the ninth year after Emperor Qin Shihuang's enthronement, Lao Ai's love affair with Qin Shihuang's mother was discovered. Emperor Qin Shihuang uprooted Lao Ai's relatives and clan and dismissed Lü Buwei.

Yu Qing Had a Talk with Lord Chunshen

Yu Qing had a talk with Lord Chunshen and said, "I



【原文】

王之春秋高矣，而君之封地不可不早定也！为主君虑封者，莫如远楚。秦孝公封商君，孝公死而后不免杀之；秦惠王封冉子，惠王死而后王夺之。公孙鞅，功臣也；冉子，亲姻也。然而不免夺、死者，封近故也。太公望封于齐，邵公奭封于燕，为其远王室矣。今燕之罪大而赵怒深，故君不如北兵以德赵，践乱燕以定身封，此百代之一时也！”

君曰：“所道攻燕，非齐则魏。魏、齐新怨楚，楚君虽欲攻燕，将道何

【今译】

今楚王的年纪很大了，所以您的封地不可不尽早确定下来。为您着想，您的封地不如离楚国远一些。秦孝公赐给商鞅封地，孝公死后，他还是不免被杀；秦惠王赐给冉子封地，惠王死后，新即位的秦王剥夺了他的封地。公孙鞅是个功臣，冉子是姻亲，然而不免被剥夺或被杀，是因为他们的封地太近的缘故。太公望被分封到了齐国，邵公奭被分封到燕，因为这些地方远离王室。如今燕国罪恶深重，赵国对它非常愤怒，所以您不如向北进军来支援赵国，攻破混乱的燕国来确定您的封地，这是百世难遇的机会啊。”

春申君说：“进攻燕国，不是取道齐国就是路过魏国。魏国和齐国最近跟楚国结怨，即便是楚国的君主想攻打燕国，又该走哪条道呢？”虞卿回答说：“我能让魏王允许借道。”春申君说：“怎么才能做到？”虞卿回



learned from *Chunqiu* that one should prepare for danger in times of safety, and vice versa, that is, prepare for safety in times of danger. Now the king of our state is very old. So, you should establish a fief as soon as possible. For your sake, you should apply for a fief distant from the state of Chu. Duke Xiao of the state of Qin conferred a fief on Gongsun Yang, or Lord Shang. However, after Duke Xiao died, Gongsun Yang was sentenced to death. King Hui of Qin conferred a fief on Ranzi. After King Hui died, his successor dispossessed Ranzi of that fief. Gongsun Yang used to be a meretorious high-ranking court official and Ranzi was a close relative of the royal family. However, people like them were dispossessed or sentenced to death because their fiefs were too closely located. Taigong Wang was bestowed the state of Qi and Shaogong Shi was bestowed the state of Yan because these two states were far from the central government of the Zhou Dynasty. Now the state of Yan has committed severe sins and therefore the state of Zhao is very angry towards it. Hence, it would be better if you dispatch troops to march northwards to reinforce the army of the state of Zhao, destroy the chaotic Yan and thus establish your own fief in Yan. Such an opportunity only comes once in one hundred generations." Lord Chunshen said, "If we attack Yan, we must march through either the state of Qi or the state of Wei. Qi and Wei have declared enmity toward our state recently. Although our sovereign might want to attack Yan, which path can we take then?" Yu Qing replied, "I can persuade the king of Wei to allow you to traverse his state." The lord asked, "How can



【原文】

哉？”对曰：“请令魏王可。”君曰：“何如？”对曰：“臣请到魏，而使所以信之。”

乃谓魏王曰：“夫楚亦强大矣，天下无敌，乃且攻燕。”魏王曰：“乡也子云‘天下无敌’，今也子云‘乃且攻燕’者，何也？”对曰：“今为马多力则有矣，若曰胜千钧则不然者，何也？夫千钧非马之任也。今谓楚强大则有矣，若越赵、魏而斗兵于燕，则岂楚之任也（我）[哉]？非楚之任而楚为之，是敝楚也。敝楚（见）强魏也，其于王孰便也？”

【今译】

答说：“请让我去魏国，让它相信借道给楚国对它自己是有利的。”

于是对魏王说：“楚国也很强大，天下无敌，将要进攻燕国。”魏王说：“你刚才说它‘天下无敌’，现在又说‘将要进攻燕国’，怎么回事？”虞卿回答说：“如果说马力气大，那是对的，假如说马能负载千钧重量就不对了，为什么呢？千钧不是马所能负载的重量。说楚国强大是对的，假如说它能派军队穿过赵国和魏国跟燕国作战，那怎么是楚国所能胜任的呢？楚国做自己不能胜任的事情，就会把自己弄得疲弊不堪。楚国疲弊就会显示出魏国的强大，对大王不是更有利吗？”



you do that?" Yu Qing replied, "I will go to the state of Wei and persuade the king to believe that it will benefit his state to permit the troops of Chu to march through Wei."

Then he persuaded the king of the state of Wei as follows: "Chu is a large and powerful state. No other state in the world can match it in terms of strength. It is about to attack the state of Yan." The king of Wei asked, "You just said that no other state in the world can match Chu in terms of mightiness. Now you are saying that it is about to attack the state of Yan. Why?" Yu Qing replied, "If you say that a horse is very muscular, that's right. However, if you declare that a horse can carry one thousand *jun* of weight on its back, that's wrong. Why? One thousand *jun* is beyond the limits of a horse. Now if you say the state of Chu is big and powerful, that's right. However, if Chu plans to dispatch its troops to traverse Zhao and Wei to attack Yan, isn't this beyond the limits of Chu? Nonetheless, Chu is still about to do so. Therefore, it will become exhausted. If this is the case, your state will be strengthened. Isn't this advantageous to Your Majesty?"

卷十八 赵 一

知伯从韩魏兵以攻赵

【原文】

知伯从韩、魏兵以攻赵，围晋阳而水之，城下不沉者三板。郤疵谓知伯曰：“韩、魏之君必反矣！”知伯曰：“何以知之？”郤疵曰：“以其人事知之。夫从韩、魏之兵而攻赵，赵亡，难必及韩、魏矣。今约胜赵而三分其地，今城不没者三板，臼灶生蛙，人马相食，城降有日，而韩、魏之君无喜志而有忧色，是非反如何也？”

明日，知伯以告韩、魏之君，曰：“郤疵言君之且反也。”韩、魏之君

【今译】

知伯联合韩国和魏国的军队一起进攻赵国，围困并且放水淹晋阳，水面距离城墙顶部只剩六尺。郤疵对知伯说：“韩国和魏国的君主一定会叛变的。”知伯说：“你怎么知道？”郤疵说：“根据他们几个人的表现知道的。联合韩国和魏国的军队进攻赵国，赵国灭亡了，灾难就必定会降临到韩国和魏国头上了。如今跟韩国和魏国约定，战胜赵国后三家共同瓜分赵国的土地，如今城墙还差六尺就被全部淹没了，城内百姓的臼和锅灶里生出青蛙，人吃马、马吃人，晋阳城没几天就会投降了。然而韩国和魏国的君主没有高兴的神情，却有忧愁的神色，这不是要叛变又是什么呢？”

第二天，知伯把这话告诉了韩国和魏国的君主，说：“郤疵对我说你们要背叛我了。”韩国和魏国的君主说：“战胜赵国，三家共同瓜分它的





Book 18

The First Volume on Zhao

Marquis Zhi United with the Troops of Han and Wei to Attack Zhao

Marquis Zhi united with the troops of the states of Han and Wei to attack the state of Zhao. The allied forces besieged the city of Jinyang and released water to submerge it. Only the top six *chi* of the protective wall remained uninundated. Qie Ci told Marquis Zhi, "The sovereigns of Han and Wei will definitely betray you." Marquis zhi asked, "How do you know this?" Qie Ci said, "From the way they behave. You have allied with the troops of Han and Wei to attack Zhao. Zhao will be destroyed. As a result, Han and Wei will definitely be in trouble. You have made an agreement together with them to carve up the territory of Zhao. Now only the top six *chi* of the protective wall is above the water. Frogs live in people's mortars and pots. Human beings and horses are eating each other because of hunger. They will surrender at any time. However, instead of appearing happy, the sovereigns of Han and Wei are looking melancholy. Doesn't this mean that they are going to turn against you?"

The next day, Marquis Zhi told the sovereigns of Han and Wei about this and said, "Qie Ci said that you two are going to turn against me." The sovereigns of Han and Wei



【原文】

曰：“夫胜赵而三分其地，城今且将拔矣。夫（三）〔二〕家虽愚，不弃美利于前，背信盟之约，而为危难不可成之事，其势可见也。是疵为赵计矣，使君疑二主之心而解于攻赵也。今君听谗臣之言，而离二主之交，为君惜之！”趋而出。郗疵谓知伯曰：“君又何以疵言告韩、魏之君为？”知伯曰：“子安知之？”对曰：“韩、魏之君视疵端而趋疾。”

郗疵知其言之不听，请使于齐，知伯遣之。韩、魏之君果反矣。

【今译】

土地，晋阳城现在马上就要被攻克了，我们两个虽然愚钝，也不会放弃摆在面前的丰厚利益，背弃盟约，而去做危险困难而且不能成功的事情，这情势是显而易见的。这是郗疵在为赵国出谋划策，让您对我们的心思表示怀疑从而放松对赵国的攻势。如今您听信谗臣的话，而疏离与我们二人的交情，我们为您感到惋惜。”快步走了出来。郗疵对知伯说：“您为什么又把我的话告诉了韩国和魏国的君主？”知伯问：“你怎么知道的？”郗疵回答说：“韩国和魏国的君主一看到我就赶紧走开了。”

郗疵意识到知伯不会听从他的建议，请求出使齐国，知伯派他去了。韩国和魏国的君主果然叛变了。

知伯帅赵韩魏而伐范中行氏

【原文】

知伯帅赵、韩、魏而伐范、中行氏，灭之。休数年，使人请地于韩。韩康子欲勿与，段规谏曰：“不可。夫知伯之为人也，好利而鹯（复）愎。

【今译】

知伯率领赵国、韩国和魏国的军队攻打范氏和中行氏，消灭了它们。休整了几年之后，派人到韩国索要土地。韩康子不想给他，段规进谏说：“不可以不答应他。知伯的为人，贪图利益而又凶狠暴戾。他派



said, "We are about to defeat Zhao and carve up its territory among us. Now the city will soon be occupied. Although we are stupid, we won't give up the huge profit before us to turn against you and take actions that are both perilous and impossible. This is obvious. It means that Qie Ci is scheming against you for the sake of the state of Zhao. He wants to make you doubt us and therefore not concentrate on attacking Zhao. You listen to the words of this slandering court official and so alienate us. We pity you in this case." Then they quickly left. Qie Ci asked Marquis Zhi, "Why did you tell the sovereigns of Han and Wei about our talk?" Marquis Zhi asked, "How do you know this?" Qie Ci replied, "When the sovereigns of Han and Wei saw me, they walked away quickly." Qie Ci realized that Marquis Zhi wouldn't take his advice, so he asked the marquis to send him to the state of Qi on a diplomatic mission and Marquis Zhi agreed. The sovereigns of Han and Wei turned against Marquis Zhi as expected.

Marquis Zhi Led the Troops of Zhao, Han and Wei to Attack the Fans and Zhongxings

Marquis Zhi led the troops of the states of Zhao, Han and Wei to attack the Fans and Zhongxings and defeated them. A few years later, Marquis Zhi sent a messenger to Han to ask for some land. Han Kangzi didn't want to give him any land. Duan Gui remonstrated with Kangzi, "We shouldn't refuse him. Marquis Zhi is very covetous and



【原文】

来请地不与，必加兵于韩矣。君其与之。与之，彼狙，又将请地于他国。他国不听，必乡之以兵。然则韩可以免于患难而待事之变。”康子曰：“善。”使使者致万家之邑一于知伯。知伯说，又使人请地于魏。魏宣子欲勿与，赵葭谏曰：“彼请地于韩，韩与之。请地于魏，魏弗与，则是魏内自强，而外怒知伯也。然则其错兵于魏必矣！不如与之。”宣子曰：“诺。”因使人致万家之邑一于知伯。知伯说，又使人之赵，请蔡、皋狼之地，赵襄子弗与。知伯因阴结韩、魏，将以伐赵。

赵襄子召张孟谈而告之曰：“夫知伯之为人，阳亲而阴疏，三使韩、

【今译】

人前来索要土地，如果我们不给他，他一定会派兵攻打韩国的。大王还是给他吧。给了他以后，他就形成习惯了，就又会向别的国家索要土地。别的国家不听他的，他就必定会派兵进攻它。这样一来，韩国就可以避免战争的祸患，又可以等待事情的发展变化。”韩康子说：“好主意。”派使者送给知伯一个拥有一万户人家的城邑。知伯很高兴，又派人到魏国索要土地。魏宣子不想给他，赵葭进谏说：“他向韩国索要土地，韩国给了他。向魏国索要土地，如果魏国不给他，这就是魏国倚仗自己国力强大，而对外激怒知伯。这样一来，他必然要派兵进攻魏国！不如给他土地。”魏宣子说：“好吧。”于是派人送给知伯一个拥有一万人家的城邑。知伯很高兴，又派人到赵国，索要藺、皋狼等地，赵襄子不给他。知伯暗地里勾结韩国和魏国，准备进攻赵国。

赵襄子召来张孟谈，告诉他说：“知伯的为人，表面上跟人很亲近，内心里却很疏远。他多次派人到韩国和魏国去，而不跟我结交，他一定



brutal. If we refuse to give him the land, he will definitely send his troops to attack us. Please give him the land. If we give him the land, he will be spoiled by us and will ask for land from other states. If other states don't listen to him, he will attack them. Accordingly, our state will avoid trouble and thus we can observe the development of the situation and take advantage of him if possible." Kangzi said, "Good idea." He then sent an emissary to inform the marquis that Han would give him a huge county with ten thousand families. Marquis Zhi was very happy. He then sent a messenger to Wei to ask for land. Wei Xuanzi wanted to refuse him. Zhao Jia advised him, "When he asked Han for land, Han gave it to him. Now he is asking for land from Wei. If we refuse him, it shows that we don't mind irritating him with the might of our state. As a result, he will definitely send his troops to attack us. We'd better agree to give him the land." Xuanzi said, "I see." He then sent a messenger to present a county with ten thousand families to the marquis. The marquis was very satisfied with Wei. After that, he sent his people to Zhao to ask for Lin and Gaolang. Zhao Xiangzi refused. Therefore, Marquis Zhi united with Han and Wei secretly and conspired to launch military action against Zhao together with them.

Zhao Xiangzi called for Zhang Mengtan, told him about it and said, "Marquis Zhi pretends to be close to others but always keeps at a distance from them in his heart. He has sent messengers to Han and Wei several times, but has no diplomatic relations with me. I have refused to give him land,



【原文】

魏而寡人弗与焉，其移兵寡人必矣。今吾安居而可？”张孟谈曰：“夫董（闾）安于，简主之才臣也，世治晋阳。而尹（泽）[铎]循之，其余政教犹存，君其定居晋阳。”君曰：“诺。”乃使延陵（王）[生]将车骑先之晋阳，君因从之。至，行城郭，案府库，视仓廩，召张孟谈曰：“吾城郭（之）[已]完，府库足用，仓廩实矣，无矢奈何？”张孟谈曰：“臣闻董子之治晋阳也，公宫之垣，皆以狄蒿（苦）[苦]楚庸之，其高至丈余，君发而用之。”于是发而试之，其坚则箛箒之劲不能过也。君曰：“足矣。吾铜少，若何？”张孟谈曰：“臣闻董子之治晋阳也，公宫之室，皆以炼铜为柱质，请发而用之，则有余铜矣。”君曰：“善。”号令以定，备守以具。

【今译】

会派兵进攻我的。如今我住到哪里才行？”张孟谈说：“董安于是先君赵简子的很有才干的大臣，终生治理晋阳，后来尹铎也遵循了他的政策，他们的政治教化至今还继续存在，大王可以定居晋阳。”赵襄子说：“好吧。”于是派延陵生率领兵车和骑兵先来到晋阳，赵襄子跟随在他们后面。到达晋阳后，赵襄子巡视那里的城郭，清点国库，视察粮仓，召来张孟谈说：“我们的城郭完好，国库里的物资充足，粮仓里存满粮食，但是没有箭，该怎么办呢？”张孟谈说：“我听说董安于治理晋阳的时候，宫室的墙壁都是用芦荻、蒿草、荆条等修筑的，它们高达一丈，大王可以把它们拔出来制造成箭。”于是拔出来试了试，它们比上等的竹子还要结实。赵襄子说：“箭已经足够了，但是我们缺少铜怎么办？”张孟谈说：“我听说董安于治理晋阳的时候，宫室建筑都是冶炼铜来铸造柱子底座，把它们掘出来用，那么铜就用不完了。”赵襄子说：“好的。”号令都确定了，防守的器械都准备就绪了。



and he will definitely dispatch troops to attack me. Where do you think I can stay now?" Zhang Mengtan said, "Dong Anyu was a talented high-ranking court official of our deceased sovereign—Jianzi. He had been governing Jinyang during his life time. After that Yin Duo followed his policies to administer that area. Their policies and moral education still remain there. You can settle down there." The sovereign said, "Well, I will do that." He then asked Yan Lingsheng to lead some chariots and cavalry to march ahead as vanguard and he himself followed them. When he arrived there, he inspected the protective walls, surveyed the savings of the state depots and checked the grain kept in the granaries. Then he called in Zhang Mengtan and said, "Our protective walls are in good condition, and we also have full stores of savings and grain. However, we are short of arrows. What shall we do?" Zhang Mengtan said, "I heard that when Mr Dong was governing Jinyang, he had all the palace buildings' walls made of reeds and thorns as tall as ten *chi*. You can pull them out and use them." So Xiangzi had them pulled out to try them and found that these materials were of extremely good quality and even surpassed the best bamboos. The sovereign said, "Now I have enough arrows. But we are short of copper. What shall we do then?" Zhang Mengtan suggested, "I heard that when Mr Dong was governing Jinyang, he had all the posts' pedestals of the palace buildings made of copper. Please unearth and use them. Then we will have more than enough copper." The sovereign said, "Good idea." All orders were transmitted and all defence



【原文】

三国之兵乘晋阳城，遂战，三月不能拔，因舒军而围之，决晋水而灌之。围晋阳三年，城中巢居而处，悬釜而炊，财食将尽，士卒病羸。襄子谓张孟谈曰：“粮食匱，城力尽，士大夫病，吾不能守矣，欲以城下，何如？”张孟谈曰：“臣闻之，亡不能存，危不能安，则无为贵知士也。君释此计，勿复言也。臣请见韩、魏之君。”襄子曰：“诺。”

张孟谈于是阴见韩、魏之君曰：“臣闻唇亡则齿寒，今知伯帅二国之君伐赵，赵将亡矣，亡则二君为之次矣！”二君曰：“我知其然。夫知伯为

【今译】

韩国、智氏和魏国三个国家的军队逼近晋阳，于是与赵国军队开战。三个月不能攻克晋阳，于是部署兵力，将晋阳包围起来，决开晋水来淹没它。晋阳被围困了三年，城中的军民修筑巢穴居住，将锅悬挂起来做饭，钱财和粮食都要用光了，士卒身体瘦弱而不适。赵襄子对张孟谈说：“粮食匱乏，财力殚尽，士大夫患病在身，我不能坚守了。打算带领晋阳军民投降，怎么样？”张孟谈说：“我听说，如果国家濒于灭亡而不能保全它，陷入危险而不能转危为安，那就用不着看重智士了。大王放弃投降的打算，不要再提了。请让我去拜见韩国和魏国的君主。”赵襄子说：“好吧。”

于是张孟谈暗地里拜见韩国和魏国的君主，对他们说：“我听说唇亡齿寒，如今知伯率领两位大王的军队进攻赵国，赵国很快就会灭亡了。赵国灭亡后，你们两位的国家也会接着灭亡的。”两位君主说：“我们知道会是这样的。知伯的为人，内心残酷，很少亲近别人。假如我们



works were ready.

The troops of the three allied armies approached Jinyang and the war started. The allied troops could not conquer Jinyang even three months after military action began, so they deployed their soldiers to surround it. Then they released the water of the Jinshui River to submerge the city of Jinyang. The city remained in water for three years. Citizens had to build nests for survival and hang up their pots for cooking. Both their savings and store of grain ran out. Officers and men were sick and exhausted. Xiangzi told Zhang Mengtan, "Now we are badly short of food and money. Moreover, the high-ranking officials are not feeling well. I can no longer defend the city. I am going to surrender to the enemy. What do you think about it?" Zhang Mengtan said, "I heard that it is of no use to keep wise and capable scholars if they cannot manage to safeguard a state when it is at the edge of perdition or ensure its safety when it is in danger. Please give up that idea and don't mention it again. Please allow me to go to see the sovereigns of Han and Wei to have a talk with them." Xiangzi said, "All right, please do it."

Zhang Mengtan then visited the sovereigns of Han and Wei secretly and said, "I heard that if the lips are missing, the teeth will feel cold. Now Marquis Zhi is leading the two of you to attack Zhao, and Zhao will be defeated soon. However, your states will follow in the footsteps of Zhao and be defeated too." These two sovereigns said, "We know this. Marquis Zhi is brutal and seldom hobnob with others. If he



【原文】

人也，粗中而少亲。我谋未遂而知，则其祸必至，为之奈何？”张孟谈曰：“谋出二君之口，入臣之耳，人莫之知也。”二君即与张孟谈阴约三军，与之期（曰）[日]，夜遣入晋阳。张孟谈以报襄子，襄子再拜之。

张孟谈因朝知伯而出，遇知过辕门之外。知过入见知伯曰：“二主殆将有变。”君曰：“何如？”对曰：“臣遇张孟谈于辕门之外，其志矜，其行高。”知伯曰：“不然。吾与二主约谨矣，破赵，三分其地，寡人所亲之，必不欺也。子释之，勿出于口！”知过出，见二主，人说知伯曰：“二主色动而意变，必背君，不如（令）[今]杀之。”知伯曰：“兵着晋阳三年矣，且暮当拔之而飧其利，乃有他心？不可，子慎勿复言！”知过曰：“不杀则遂亲

【今译】

的谋划还没有实施就被他知道了，那他必定会攻打我们，怎么办呢？”张孟谈说：“计谋从两位大王的嘴里说出来，进入我的耳朵，没有人会知道的。”两位君主就跟张孟谈密谋，暗中串通三国军队，跟他们约定好进攻知伯的日期。当天夜里，张孟谈就回到了晋阳。张孟谈把这件事报告了赵襄子，赵襄子冲他拜了两下表示感谢。

于是张孟谈去谒见知伯，出来的时候在辕门外遇见知过。知过进去拜见知伯说：“韩国和魏国的君主恐怕会有变故。”知伯问：“怎么了？”知过回答说：“我跟张孟谈在辕门外相遇，他一副趾高气扬的样子。”知伯说：“不会的。我跟两位君主约定好了，攻破赵国后共同瓜分它的土地，我亲自跟他们约定的，他们一定不会欺骗我。你算了吧，别说了。”知过出来去见韩国和魏国的君主，进来劝说知伯道：“他们两位君主的神色不对，主意改变了，一定会背叛您，不如现在就杀了他们。”知伯说：“我们的军队包围晋阳已经三年了，马上就会攻克它分享利益，他们怎么会有二心？不行的，你千万别再提了。”知过说：“如果不杀掉他们就



detects our conspiring before we take action, we will be in severe trouble. What shall we do?" Zhang Mengtan said, "Only the three of us know about the conspiracy, so we can surely keep it secret. Thus no one will discover it." The two sovereigns then made an agreement with Zhang Mengtan secretly to agree on a date to take concerted military action against Marquis Zhi. Zhang Mengtan returned the same night. When he reported it to Xiangzi, Xiangzi bowed twice to him to express his thanks.

After that, Zhang Mengtan went to visit Marquis Zhi. When he went out of the marquis' palace, he met Zhi Guo at the gate. Zhi Guo went to see the marquis and said, "The other two sovereigns will probably rebel against you." The marquis asked, "Why?" Zhi Guo replied, "I met Zhang Mengtan at the gate, and he seemed astrut." Marquis Zhi said, "No, you are wrong. I have made an agreement with those two sovereigns very carefully and we have promised to defeat Zhao and then carve up its territory among us. I made this agreement with them in person. They won't cheat me anyway. You, please leave it at that and don't mention it again." Zhi Guo went to see the other two sovereigns. Then he went to talk with Marquis Zhi again and said, "They have changed their minds. They will definitely turn against you. You'd better kill them right away." Marquis Zhi said, "We have besieged Jinyang for three years. We will conquer it in no time and divide it up. Why should they change their minds? They won't. Please don't mention it again." Zhi Guo said, "If you don't kill them, please hobnob with them."



【原文】

之。”知伯曰：“亲之奈何？”知过曰：“魏宣子之谋臣曰赵葭，韩康子之谋臣曰段规，是皆能移其君之计。君其与二君约，破赵则封二子者各万家之县一。如是则二主之心可不变，而君得其所欲矣。”知伯曰：“破赵而三分其地，又封二子者各万家之县一，则吾所得者少，不可。”知过见君之不用也，言之不听，出，更其姓为辅氏，遂去不见。

张孟谈闻之，入见襄子曰：“臣遇知过于辕门之外，其视有疑臣之心，入见知伯，出更其姓。今暮不击，必后之矣。”襄子曰：“诺。”使张孟谈见韩、魏之君，曰夜期杀守堤之吏，而决水灌知伯军。知伯军救水而

【今译】

亲近他们。”知伯说：“怎么亲近他们？”知过说：“魏宣子的谋臣叫赵葭，韩康子的谋臣叫段规，这两个人都能改变他们的君主的计划。您可以跟他们约定，攻克赵国后就分别赏赐给他们两人一个拥有一万户人家的城邑。这样，两位君主的心就可以不变了，您也能如愿以偿了。”知伯说：“攻克赵国后，三家共同瓜分它的土地，再分别赐给他们二位每人一个拥有一万户人家的城邑，那我所能得到的就很少了，不行。”知过见君主不采纳自己的主张，不听自己的话，就出来了，将自己的姓改成辅，就离开了。

张孟谈听说这件事后，进去拜见赵襄子说：“我在辕门外遇见知过，他看起来有怀疑我的意思。他进去见知伯，出来后就更改了自己的姓氏。今天夜里不进攻，就失去机会了。”赵襄子说：“好吧。”派张孟谈去见韩国和魏国的君主，跟他们约定当晚行动，杀死了把守河堤的官吏，决开晋水大堤淹没知伯的军队。知伯的军队因为救水而大乱，韩国和魏国的军队从两边进攻他们，赵襄子率领军队从前面进攻，大败知伯的



Marquis Zhi asked, "How can I hobnob with them?" Zhi Guo said, "The advisors of Wei Xuanzi is Zhao Jia and that of Kangzi is Duan Gui. These two people can make their sovereigns change their minds. You can make an agreement with these two people and promise to give them each a county with ten thousand families after you defeat Zhao. Then the two sovereigns will not change their minds and you can also obtain whatever you want." Marquis Zhi said, "The three of us will defeat Zhao and then divide its territory among us. If I give each of these two people a county with ten thousand families, I will only gain very little. I won't do that." Zhi Guo realized that his sovereign wouldn't take his advice, so he went out. Then he changed his surname to Fu and left the marquis for good.

When Zhang Mengtan heard this, he went to see Xiangzi and said, "I met Zhi Guo at the gate of Marquis Zhi's building. He seemed to be sceptical toward me. Then he went to see Marquis Zhi. But he changed his surname after he left the marquis' place. If we don't attack the marquis tonight, we will lose the chance." Xiangzi said, "Well, I see." He sent Zhang Mengtan to meet the sovereigns of Han and Wei. They planned to take action that same night. They killed the officer in charge of guarding the dike, and released the water of the Jinshui River to submerge Marquis Zhi's troops. The troops of the marquis were in severe chaos fighting against the water. The troops of Han and Wei attacked them from both sides. Xiangzi led his troops to confront them from the front. They defeated the enemy



【原文】

乱，韩、魏翼而击之，襄子将卒犯其前，大败知伯军而禽知伯。

知伯身死、国亡、地分，为天下笑，此贪欲无厌也。夫不听知过，亦所以亡也。知氏尽灭，唯辅氏存焉。”

【今译】

军队并且活捉了知伯。

知伯自己丧命，国家灭亡，领土被瓜分，成为天下人的笑料，这都是因为他贪得无厌的缘故。他不听知过的意见，也是他灭亡的原因。姓知的都被消灭了，只有姓辅的还活着。

张孟谈既固赵宗

【原文】

张孟谈既固赵宗，广封疆，发（五百）[知伯]，乃称简之涂以告襄子曰：“昔者，（前国）[简主]（地君）之御有之曰：‘五百之所以致天下者约：两主势能制臣，无令臣能制主。故贵为列侯者，不令在相位，自将军以上，不为近大夫。’今臣之名显而身尊，权重而众服，臣愿捐功名去权势以离众。”襄子恨然曰：“何哉？吾闻辅主者名显，功大者身尊，任国者权

【今译】

张孟谈已经巩固了赵国，扩展了赵国疆域，铲除了知伯，于是就称颂简子的事迹，并告诉襄子说：“从前，先君简子统治国家有几句话：‘五霸取得天下的原因很简单：使国君的权势能制约大臣，不让大臣制约国君。所以，地位尊贵、被封侯的人，不让他们做相国；将军以上，不让他们做宠信的大夫。’如今我的名声显要而且地位尊贵，掌握大权而且民众佩服，我愿意抛弃功名、放弃权势来亲附民众。”襄子惆怅地说：“为什么？我听说辅佐君主的人声名显赫，功劳大的人地位尊贵，执掌国家大



troops and took Marquis Zhi captive.

Marquis Zhi lost his life. His state was destroyed, his territory was divided and he was derided by people of the world. That happened because he was too covetous to be satisfied. He didn't take Zhi Guo's advice. That also led to his death. The Zhis were uprooted. Only the Fus are still in existence.

Zhang Mengtan Consolidated Zhao

Zhang Mengtan consolidated the state of Zhao, enlarged its territory, killed Marquis Zhi and then he reminded Xiangzi, the sovereign of Zhao, of the words of Jianzi, Xiangzi's predecessor, as follows: "Previously, when our departed sovereign was governing the state, he had a motto, which says, 'The reason that the Five Lord-protectors established the most powerful states in the world is very simple; make sure that the sovereign take control over high-ranking court officials and never let himself be manipulated by them. Hence, powerful people such as marquises wouldn't be appointed as prime minister. Generals and people with high ranks wouldn't be appointed as high-ranking court officials closest to the sovereign.' Now I enjoy both a famous reputation and high status. I hold influential power and am admired by the people. I want to leave my contributions and reputation in oblivion, discard my power to hobnob with the masses." Xiangzi pitied him very much and said, "Why? I heard that people assisting their sovereign will become



【原文】

重，信忠在己而众服焉。此先圣之所以集国家安社稷乎！子何为然？”张孟谈对曰：“君之所言，成功之美也；臣之所谓，持国之道也。臣观成事，闻往古，天下之美同，臣主之权均之能美，未之有也。前事之不忘，后事之师。君若弗图，则臣力不足。”怵然有决色。襄子去之，卧三日，使人谓之曰：“晋阳之政，臣下不使者何如？”对曰：“死僇。”张孟谈曰：“左司马见使于国家，安社稷，不避其死，以成其忠，君其行之。”君曰：“子从事。”乃许之。张孟谈便厚以便名，纳地释事以去权尊，而[亲]耕

【今译】

事的人掌握大权，诚信忠诚的人民，众会服从他。古代圣人凭借这样的人使国家安定统一。你为什么要这么做呢？”张孟谈回答说：“您所说的，是成功的美事；我所说的，是治理国家的准则。我考察已经发生的大事，听取以往的经验，天下人都向往完美，大臣和君主的权势都能达到完美的，从来没有过。前事不忘，后事之师。您如果不作打算，那我就力所不能及了。”他一副悲伤的样子，并且有决绝的神色。襄子让他回去了。他躺了三天，派人对襄子说：“治理晋阳，臣下当中有不服从的，怎么办？”襄子回答说：“处以死刑。”张孟谈说：“左司马效力国家，安定社稷，不避死难，来成就我的忠心，您就放我走吧。”襄子说：“按你想的去做吧。”于是允许他辞职。张孟谈辞掉他的名号，交出封地，辞去国事，放弃他的权势和地位，而亲自在胙丘耕种。所以说“贤人的行为反



famous. People with significant contributions will gain high status. People administering a state will hold influential power. And honest and truthful people will be admired by the masses. Sages in ancient times turned to such people to govern and safeguard their states. Why do you want to resign?" Zhang Mengtan replied, "What you said refers to the greatness of success. What I said refers to the correct way to govern a state. I have done research on some successful cases and drawn lessons from events of ancient times and found that people of the world long for perfection. However, there has been no precedent that both sovereigns and high-ranking court officials can reach perfection in pursuing and maintaining their power. Lessons can always be drawn from previous events. If you don't think about it this way, there is nothing I can do about it." He appeared very sad and it seemed that he had made up his mind to leave office. Xiangzi let him go. After having lay in his bed for three days, Zhang Mengtan sent someone to take a message to Xiangzi as follows: "Regarding governing the city of Jinyang, if there are some officers refusing to take your orders, what will you do?" Xiangzi replied, "Sentence them to death." Zhang Mengtan said, "As the Left Minister of War, I have served the state and safeguarded it. I won't avoid facing death to perform my loyal duty to the state. Please let me go." Xiangzi said, "Well, you can do whatever you want." So he permitted Zhang Mengtan to resign. Then Zhang Mengtan gave up his title, fief, and power and went to work in the field in the hills of Yuan. So it is said, "Worthy people's



【原文】

于(负亲之)[育]丘。故曰,贤人之行,明主之政也。

耕三年,韩、魏、齐、燕负亲以谋赵,襄子往见张孟谈而告之曰:“昔者知氏之地,赵氏分则多十城,而今诸侯复来孰谋我,为之奈何?”张孟谈曰:“君其负剑而御臣以之国,舍臣于庙,授吏大夫,臣试计之。”君曰:“诺。”张孟谈乃行,其妻之楚,长子之韩,次子之魏,少子之齐。四国疑而谋败。

【今译】

映英明君主的政治”。

他耕种了三年,韩国、魏国、齐国和燕国联合起来图谋赵国,襄子前去见张孟谈,并把这事告诉了他,说:“从前知伯的土地,赵国多分得了十个城邑,而如今各国又来图谋我们,该怎么办?”张孟谈说:“您就背着剑,驾车载我回到国都,让我住在宗庙里,让我调遣官员和大臣,我试试对付此事吧。”襄子说:“好吧。”于是张孟谈派他的妻子到楚国去,大儿子到韩国,二儿子到魏国,小儿子到齐国。四国互相猜疑,它们的谋划从而落空。

晋毕阳之孙豫让

【原文】

晋毕阳之孙豫让,始事范、中行氏而不说,去而就知伯,知伯宠之。及三晋分知氏,赵襄子最怨知伯,而将其头以为饮器。豫让遁逃山中,曰:“嗟乎!士为知己者死,女为悦己者容。吾其报知氏之仇矣。”乃变

【今译】

晋国人毕阳的孙子叫豫让,他最初侍奉范氏和中行氏,不被主君宠信,就离开他们来到知伯那里,知伯很宠信他。韩、赵、魏瓜分了知伯的土地后,赵襄子最怨恨知伯,把他的头用作饮酒的器皿。豫让逃亡到山里,说:“哎!士为知己者死,女为悦己者容。我要为知伯报仇呀。”于是



behaviour reflects the policies of wise sovereigns. ”

Three years after he began to grow crops, the states of Han, Wei, Qi and Yan united with each other to attack Zhao. Xiangzi went to see Zhang Mengtan to inform him about it and said, “Previously when we carved up Marquis Zhi’s territory, we gained ten more cities than the other states. Now they are going to attack us. What shall we do?” Zhang Mengtan said, “You can take up your sword and drive me back to the capital. Then please allow me to stay in the ancestral temple and command the officers and high-ranking court officials. I will try to hold them back. ” Xiangzi said, “I will do that. ” Then Zhang Mengtan sent his wife to Chu, his eldest son to Han, his second son to Wei and the youngest son to Qi. These states began to mistrust each other and their conspiracy resulted in failure.

Yu Rang Was Bi Yang’s Grandson and Was Born in the State of Jin

Yu Rang, the grandson of Bi Yang from the state of Jin, first served the Fans and Zhongxings. But he was not happy with them. So he left them for Marquis Zhi. Marquis Zhi cherished him and treated him very well. After Han, Zhao and Wei divided the territory of the Zhis, since Zhao Xiangzi hated Marquis Zhi the most, he used the marquis’ skull as a wine cup. Yu Rang escaped to live in the mountains. He said, “Oh! Scholars will devote their lives to their confidants. Women will make up for the sake of those who love them. I



【原文】

姓名，为刑人，入宫涂厕，欲以刺襄子。襄子如厕，心动，执问涂者，则豫让也。刃其扞，曰：“欲为知伯报仇！”左右欲杀之。襄子曰：“彼义士也，吾谨避之耳。且知伯已死，无后，而其臣至为报仇，此天下之贤人也。”卒释之。豫让又漆身为厉，灭须去眉，自刑以变其容，为乞人而往乞。其妻不识，曰：“状貌不似吾夫，其音何类吾夫之甚也！”又吞炭为哑以变其音。其友谓之曰：“子之道甚难而无功，谓子有志则然矣，谓子智则否。以子之才而善事襄子，襄子必近幸子。子之得近而行所欲，此甚易而功必成。”豫让乃笑而应之曰：“是为先知报后知，为故君贼新君，大乱

【今译】

更改了自己的姓名，装作被罚做苦力的罪犯，进入宫中，粉刷厕所的墙壁，打算寻找机会行刺赵襄子。赵襄子上厕所，内心有所惊动，抓住粉刷厕所的人查问，发现是豫让。豫让把瓦刀磨出了锋利的刃，说：“我要为知伯报仇！”赵襄子身边的人想杀死他。赵襄子说：“那是个义士，我小心躲避着他吧。况且知伯已经死了，没有后人，但他的大臣却一定要为他报仇，这是天下的贤士。”最终把豫让放了。豫让又用漆涂抹自己的身体，满身生了疥疮，他剃掉胡须和眉毛，自己动手毁容来改变外貌，装扮成乞丐去讨饭。可他的妻子认不出他来，说：“外表不像我丈夫，他的声音怎么如此酷似我丈夫呢？”于是豫让又吞下烧热的炭让声音变得沙哑。他的朋友对他说：“您这条道路很艰难而且难以成功，说您有志气还算是对的，说您智慧那就错了。凭着您的才干，好好地侍奉赵襄子，赵襄子一定会亲近而且宠幸您。您能接近赵襄子，再做自己想做的事，这样就很容易而且一定会成功。”豫让笑着回答他说：“这就是为先前知遇自己的人报复以后知遇自己的人，为以前的主子杀死以后的主



am going to take revenge for the Zhis." Then he changed his name, pretended to be a forced labourer, and went to paint Zhao Xiangzi's washroom in order to seek a chance to assassinate him. Xiangzi went to the washroom and had a strange feeling in his heart. He caught the painter, questioned him and found that he was Yu Rang. Yu Rang sharpened his tool and said, "I am going to avenge Marquis Zhi!" Xiangzi's people wanted to kill him. Zhao Xiangzi stopped them and said, "This is a person of righteousness. I will try to dodge him. Moreover, Marquis Zhi has died and none of his offspring are still in existence. However, his high-ranking court official still wants his revenge. This must be a wise and capable person of the world." Finally Yu Rang was set free. Yu Rang then painted himself with lacquer to make his body develop festering. He shaved his beard and eyebrows, deformed his face, pretended to be a beggar and went to beg for food from his wife. His wife didn't recognize him, but she said, "You don't look like my husband. But why is your voice so similar to his?" He then swallowed some hot coal to make his voice raucous. His friend told him, "You have chosen a very difficult way and your effort will be in vain. If people consider you a person with high ideals, I will agree. But if they regard you as wise, I won't agree. With your capability, if you serve Xiangzi heartedly, he will definitely trust you and feel close to you. Thus your goal will be within reach. This is very easy and you will surely succeed." Yu Rang smiled and said, "If this is the case, I am going to kill the later confidant to revenge the former one, or



【原文】

君臣之义者无此矣。凡吾所谓为此者，以明君臣之义，非从易也。且夫委质而事人，而求弑之，是怀二心以事君也。吾所为难，亦将以愧天下后世人臣怀二心者。”

居顷之，襄子当出，豫让伏所当过桥下。襄子至桥而马惊，襄子曰：“此必豫让也。”使人问之，果豫让。于是赵襄子面数豫让曰：“子不尝事范、中行氏乎？知伯灭范、中行氏，而子不为报仇，反委质事知伯。知伯亦已死，子独何为报仇之深也？”豫让曰：“臣事范、中行氏，范、中行氏以众人遇臣，臣故众人报之；知伯以国士遇臣，臣故国士报之。”襄子乃喟然叹泣曰：“嗟乎，豫子！豫子之为知伯，名既成矣，寡人舍子，亦以足

【今译】

子，再没有什么比这么做更能扰乱君臣之间的道义的了。我之所以这么做，是为了彰明君臣之间的道义，不是选择简便易行的方式。况且委身去侍奉别人，却伺机杀死他，这是怀有二心侍奉主人。我选择艰难的做法，也是要让天下那些对自己所侍奉的君主怀有二心的人感到羞愧。”

过了一段时间，赵襄子要外出，豫让埋伏在他将要经过的一座桥的下面。赵襄子走到桥头的时候，他的马突然惊了。赵襄子说：“这肯定是豫让。”派人前去询问，果然是豫让。于是赵襄子当面数落豫让道：“你不也侍奉过范氏和中行氏吗？知伯消灭了范氏和中行氏，你却不替他们报仇，反而委身侍奉知伯。知伯已经死了，你为什么单单为他报仇的心情这么迫切呢？”豫让说：“我侍奉范氏和中行氏的时候，范氏和中行氏拿我和普通人一样对待，所以我也像对普通人那样报答他们；知伯把我当作国士对待，所以我也作为一个国士来报答他。”赵襄子感慨地叹息，流着泪说：“哎哟，豫先生啊！你为知伯报仇，美名已经确立了，我



murder the new master for the sake of the old one. Nothing could cause more damage to the relationship between sovereigns and court officials. I am going to publicize the order between sovereigns and court officials by doing so. So I won't simply choose the easy way. Moreover, if I go to serve a master in order to seek an opportunity to assassinate him, that's serving a master with disloyalty. The reason why I'd rather choose the difficult way is that I want to humiliate those who serve their sovereigns with disloyalty."

Some time later, Xiangzi was about to go out. Yu Rang lurked beneath the bridge which Xiangzi was going to pass by. Xiangzi's horse became terrified when it approached the bridge. Xiangzi said, "It must be Yu Rang." He sent someone to question the man and found that he was Yu Rang as expected. Then Xiangzi scolded Yu Rang to his face, "Haven't you served the Fans and Zhongxings too? Marquis Zhi uprooted these two clans and you didn't seek revenge for them. In fact, you went to work for Marquis Zhi. Anyway, Marquis Zhi has died, why do you want to avenge him with such sincerity?" Yu Rang said, "Well, when I was serving the Fans and Zhongxings, they treated me as an ordinary person. That's why I would rather pay them back as an ordinary person does. On the other hand, Marquis Zhi regarded me as a capable and honourable scholar. So I will act as a capable and honourable scholar for his sake in return." Xiangzi was moved by his words. He groaned and tears ran down his face. He said, "Oh, Mr Yu! You have already gained a high reputation for the sake of Marquis Zhi. I have



【原文】

矣。子自为计，寡人不舍子。”使兵环之。豫让曰：“臣闻明主不掩人之义，忠臣不爱死以成名。君前已宽舍臣，天下莫不称君之贤。今日之事，臣故伏诛，然愿请君之衣而击之，虽死不恨。非所望也，敢布腹心。”于是襄子义之，乃使使者持衣与豫让。豫让拔剑三跃，呼天击之，曰：“而可以报知伯矣。”遂伏剑而死。死之日，赵国之士闻之，皆为涕泣。

【今译】

放过你一次，也已经足够了。你自己考虑好吧，我不再放过你了。”赵襄子派兵将豫让包围起来。豫让说：“我听说英明的君主不会掩盖别人的大义，忠诚的臣子不惜牺牲自己来成就美名。您上次已经饶恕过我了，天下没有人不称道您的贤明。今天的事情，我本来就该伏死，可是，请给我您的衣服，让我攻击它，那我即便死了，也没有遗憾了。不指望您成全我的心愿，斗胆说出自己的心里话。”赵襄子认为他很讲义气，于是就让使者拿着自己的衣服给了豫让。豫让拔出剑，跳跃了三次，仰天大呼，挥起剑刺着衣服说：“我可以报答知伯了。”于是自刎而死。他死的那天，赵国的士人听说了，都为他落泪了。

魏文侯借道于赵攻中山

【原文】

魏文侯借道于赵攻中山，赵侯将不许。赵利曰：“过矣。魏攻中山而不能取，则魏必罢，罢则赵重；魏拔中山，必不能越赵而有中山矣。是

【今译】

魏文侯向赵国借道进攻中山国，赵侯不答应。赵利说：“错了啊。如果魏国进攻中山而不能战胜它，魏国一定会疲弊。魏国疲弊了，赵国



absolved you before, and that's enough. This time I will not forgive you." He asked his troops to surround Yu Rang. Yu Rang said, "I heard that a wise sovereign will not obscure the righteousness of others, and a loyal court official will not hesitate to die for the sake of establishing a high reputation. You have forgiven me before, and people all over the world praise your wisdom because of that. As for today's event, I know that I deserve to be sentenced to death. However, I would ask for your clothes so that I can beat it in person. Thus I won't have any regret although I will be killed by you. I don't think you will listen to me, but I still want to tell you what I want." Then Xiangzi considered him a person of righteousness. So he asked his servant to give his clothes to Yu Rang. Yu Rang drew out his sword, jumped several times on the ground, shouted towards the sky, stabbed the clothes and said, "Now I have avenged Marquis Zhi." After that, he committed suicide. On the day he died, when scholars in the state of Zhao heard this story, they all cried.

Marquis Wen of Wei Wanted to March Through Zhao to Attack Zhongshan

Marquis Wen of the state of Wei wanted the state of Zhao to permit his troops to march through its territory to attack the state of Zhongshan. The marquis of Zhao wouldn't agree. Zhao Li told the marquis, "You are wrong. If the troops of Wei cannot defeat Zhongshan, the state of Wei will definitely become exhausted. If this is the case, our state will



【原文】

用兵者魏也，而得地者赵也。君不如许之，许之大劝，彼将知（矣）[赵]利之也，必辍。君不如借之道而示之不得已。”

【今译】

的地位就会变得重要。如果魏国攻克了中山，它一定不能越过赵国而拥有中山。这样一来，采取军事行动的就是魏国，而得到土地的却是赵国。您不如答应他。答应得太痛快，他将意识到这么做对赵国有利，必定放弃进攻中山。您不如借道给他并且表现出迫不得已的样子。”

秦韩围梁

【原文】

秦、韩围梁，燕、赵救之。谓山阳君曰：“秦战而胜三国，秦必过周、韩而有梁；三国而胜秦，三国之力虽不足以攻秦，足以拔郑。计者不如构三国攻秦。”

【今译】

秦国和韩国的军队围困了魏国都城大梁，燕国和赵国派兵营救。有人对山阳君说：“秦军如果能战胜魏、燕、赵三个国家，秦国必定会越过周国和韩国占领大梁；如果这三个国家战胜秦国，它们的军事力量虽然不足以进攻秦国，但是足以攻破韩国。为您着想，不如联合这三个国家一起进攻秦国。”

腹击为室而钜

【原文】

腹击为室而钜，荆敢言之主。谓腹子曰：“何故为室之钜也？”腹击

【今译】

腹击正在营建一所很大的房子，荆敢把这事告诉了赵国的君主。



become more powerful and influential. If they defeat Zhongshan, they won't be able to maintain the territory of Zhongshan because our state is located between these two states. Therefore, although Wei will launch an attack against Zhongshan, our state will obtain Zhongshan's territory. You'd better permit them to cross our state to take military action. However, if you agree too willingly, they will realize that Zhao will benefit eventually. Thus they will give up the idea. It would be better if you give them the permission to cross our state to attack Zhongshan, but pretend that you have been forced to do so."

Qin and Han Besieged Liang

The troops of the state of Qin and the state of Han besieged the capital of Liang of the state of Wei. The states of Yan and Zhao sent troops to Liang's rescue. Someone told Lord Shanyang, "If the troops of Qin defeat the allied forces of Wei, Yan and Zhao, they will cross the state of Zhou and the state of Han to occupy the capital of Liang. If the allied forces of these three states defeat the troops of Qin, they might not be able to invade the state of Qin, but they can defeat the state of Han. For your sake, you'd better unite with those three states to attack Qin."

Fu Ji Had a Huge Residence Erected

Fu Ji had a huge residence erected. Jing Gan told the



【原文】

曰：“臣，羁旅也，爵高而禄轻，宫室小而帑不众。主虽信臣，百姓皆曰：‘国有大事，击必不为用。’今击之钜宫，将以取信于百姓也。”主君曰：“善。”

【今译】

赵君对腹击说：“为什么要建这么大的房子呢？”腹击说：“我来自别的国家，爵位高，但是俸禄低，宫室小而且家眷少。尽管您很信任我，但百姓都说：‘国家一旦有大事，腹击必定不会受到重用。’如今我的宫室很大，是想以此取信于百姓啊。”赵国的君主说：“好。”

苏秦说李兑

【原文】

苏秦说李兑曰：“洛阳乘轩里苏秦，家贫亲老，无罢车弩马、桑轮蓬筐，羸膑负书担橐，触尘埃，蒙霜露，越漳河，足重茧，日百而舍，造外阙，愿见于前，口道天下之事。”李兑曰：“先生以鬼之言见我则可，若以人之事，兑尽知之矣。”苏秦对曰：“臣固以鬼之言见君，非以人之言也。”李兑见之。苏秦曰：“今日臣之来也暮，后郭门，藉席无所得，寄宿人田中，傍

【今译】

苏秦游说李兑道：“洛阳乘轩里的苏秦，家中贫穷，父母年迈，没有破车、老马、桑枝做的车轮、蓬草编的筐子，只好打着绑腿，背着书，挑着担子，风尘仆仆，历经霜露，渡过漳河，脚底磨起一层层老茧，步行一百里才休息一下，来到了宫廷外，愿意上前拜见，说说天下大事。”李兑说：“先生跟我说说关于鬼的事情还可以，如果说人世的事情，我全知道了。”苏秦回答说：“我本来就想凭着鬼故事拜见您，不想说关于人世的事情。”李兑召见了。苏秦说：“这天我到达这里已经是傍晚了，后



sovereign of the state of Zhao about it. The sovereign asked Fu Ji, "Why have you built such a huge building?" Fu Ji said, "I am a foreigner and hold a high position. However, my salary is very low. My house is small and I don't have a large family. Although Your Majesty trusts me very much, the people are saying, 'Once our state is in trouble, Fu Ji will lose power.' So I erected this huge residence to convince the people." The sovereign said, "I see."

Su Qin Consulted with Li Dui

Su Qin consulted with Li Dui and said, "I am Su Qin from Chengxuan Li of the city of Luoyang. My family is poor and my parents are very old. I don't have even a broken carriage, an old horse, wheels made of mulberry branches or a straw container. Just wearing leg wrappings, carrying my books on my back and luggage on my shoulders, I have experienced the hardships of an arduous journey, crossed the Zhang River and arrived here. I stopped for a rest every hundred *li* although my feet were badly callused. Now I am outside the palace and hope to pay a visit to you to talk about world events with you face to face." Li Dui said, "If you tells me ghost stories, I will see you. If you want to tell me about human activities, I know about every single event in the history of the world." Su Qin replied, "I did want to tell you some ghost stories and had no plan to discuss any human activities at all." Li Dui then agreed to see him. Su Qin said, "Today when I arrived here, the back gate of the protective



【原文】

有大丛。夜半，土梗与木梗斗曰：“汝不如我，我者乃土也。使我逢疾风淋雨，坏沮，乃复归土。今汝非木之根，则木之枝耳。汝逢疾风淋雨，漂入漳河，东流至海，泛滥无所止。”臣窃以为土梗胜也。今君杀主父而族之，君之立于天下，危于累卵。君听臣计则生，不听臣计则死。”李兑曰：“先生就舍，明日复来见兑也。”苏秦出。

李兑舍人谓李兑曰：“臣窃观君与苏公谈也，其辩过君，其博过君。君能听苏公之计乎？”李兑曰：“不能。”舍人曰：“君即不能，愿君坚塞两耳，不听其谈也。”明日复见，终日谈而去。舍人出送苏君，苏秦谓舍人曰：“昨日我谈粗而君动，今日精而君不动，何也？”舍人曰：“先生之计大

【今译】

面城郭的大门已经关闭。我想借张草席却没有借到，只好睡在田野里，旁边有一个大丛。半夜里，一个土做的人与一个木头做的人争执起来，泥人说：“你不如我，我是用土做的。假如我遇到暴风或淋了雨，坏掉了，还是化作土。但您却不是用树根，而是用树枝做的。你遇到暴风或者淋了雨，就会漂到漳河里，向东被冲到大海里，会一直漂流而不能停息下来。”我私下认为土人占了上风。如今您杀死了主父并且诛灭了他的宗族，您在天下的情势危如累卵。您听从我的建议就可以生存，不听我的建议就只有死路一条。”李兑说：“先生回到宾舍休息吧，明天再来见我。”苏秦出来了。

李兑的家臣对李兑说：“我私下观察您跟苏先生的会谈，他比您能言善辩，知识面比您广。您能听从苏先生的计策吗？”李兑说：“不能。”家臣说：“假如您不能听从他的计策，希望您紧紧堵住两只耳朵，不要听他的话。”第二天李兑又召见苏秦，谈了一整天苏秦才离开。家臣出来送苏秦，苏秦对他说：“昨天我说的话很粗疏，奉阳君却被触动了，今天我的话很精当而他却没有被触动，怎么回事？”家臣说：“先生的计策宏



wall had already been closed. I wanted to borrow a mat but couldn't find one. So I had to sleep in the fields and there was a huge bosk nearby. At midnight, an earth puppet and a wood puppet fought each other, and the former said, 'You are not as fortunate as I am. I am made of earth. If there is a storm and I become soaked by the heavy rain and then am damaged, I will become earth again. As for you, you are not made of the root of any tree but are made of a branch. If you are caught in a storm, you will be washed into the Zhang River and then into the East Sea and float endlessly.' I personally thought that the earth puppet won. Now you have killed the sovereign of Zhao and exterminated his clan. You are in an extremely dangerous position in the world. If you take my advice, you may survive. If not, you will lose your life." Li Dui said, "Please go back to your hotel now and come to see me tomorrow." Su Qin left.

Li Dui's private officer told him, "I observed your talk with Mr Su secretly. He is both more sophisticated and knowledgeable than you. Are you going to take his advice?" Li Dui said, "No, I won't." The officer said, "If you won't take his advice, I hope that you plug up your ears and don't listen to even one word of him." The next day, Su Qin met Li Dui again. They talked for a whole day and then Su Qin left. The officer went out to see him off. Su Qin told him, "Yesterday my speech didn't reach any depth, but Lord Fengyang was impressed. Today I talked about something deep and important, but he was not impressed with my words. Why?" The officer said, "Your plan is too ambitious



【原文】

而规高，吾君不能用也。乃我请君塞两耳，无听谈者。虽然，先生明日复来，吾请资先生厚用。”明日来，（抵）[抵]掌而谈。李兑送苏秦明月之珠、和氏之璧、黑貂之裘、黄金百镒。苏秦得以为用，西入于秦。

【今译】

大而且设计精妙，我的主君不能采用啊。于是我请求主君堵住两只耳朵，不要听您说的话。尽管如此，先生明天再来，我让他赞助您丰厚的费用。”第二天，苏秦来了，谈得非常投机。李兑送给苏秦明月珠、和氏璧、黑色貂皮大衣和一百镒黄金。苏秦得到这些资助，向西去往秦国。

赵收天下且以伐齐

【原文】

赵收天下，且以伐齐。苏秦为齐上书说赵王曰：“臣闻古之贤君，德行非施于海内也，教顺慈爱非布于万民也，祭祀时享非当于鬼神也；甘露降，风雨时至，农夫登，年谷丰盈，众人喜之，而贤主恶之。今足下功力非数痛加于秦国，而怨毒积恶非曾深凌于（韩）[齐]也。臣窃外闻大臣及下吏之议，皆言（主）[王]前专据以秦为爱赵而憎（韩）[齐]。臣窃

【今译】

赵国联合天下各国，将要攻打齐国。苏秦为齐国写了一封信给赵王，说：“我听说，古代贤明的君主并没有在海内所有地方推行自己的德行，他们的教化和慈爱并非能施加到万民身上，祭祀时的供品也并非符合鬼神的喜好；上天降下甘露，风雨来得及时，农民丰收，庄稼丰产，众人都很高兴，而贤明的君主却很忧虑。如今您的功劳并非能屡次攻打秦国，跟齐国之间也没有很深的怨仇。我私下从外面听到大臣和低级官员的议论，都说大王以前一味认为秦国爱护赵国而憎恶齐国，我暗地



for my master to take. So I asked my master to plug up his ears and not listen to you at all. Nonetheless, you can come again tomorrow. I will ask my master to present very generous gifts to support you." Su Qin came the next day and had an amicable talk with Li Dui. Li Dui bestowed on Su Qin the Bright Moon Pearl, the Jade of the Hes, a coat made of black marten and one hundred *yi* of gold. With these valuables, Su Qin travelled westwards and entered the state of Qin.

Zhao United with Other States in the World to Attack Qi

The state of Zhao united with other states in the world to attack the state of Qi. On behalf of the state Qi, Su Qin wrote a letter to the king of the state of Zhao, which said, "I heard that worthy sovereigns in ancient times could not always benefit the whole world, educate and take care of tens of thousands of people, or offer correct sacrifices to ghosts and deities. When sweet dew precipitated, the climate was favourable, farmers had good harvests and huge amounts of grain of various kinds were produced, the people were very happy, however, worthy sovereigns still did not feel satisfied. Now you haven't taken many military actions against the state of Qin, nor have you been at deep enmity with the state of Qi. I secretly heard the discussion among your high-ranking court officials and officers of various levels. They all said that you used to focus on hobnobbing with the state of Qin and being hostile towards the state of Qi. I have observed



【原文】

以事观之，秦岂得爱赵而憎（韩）[齐]哉？欲亡韩吞两周之地，故以（韩）[齐]为饵，先出声于天下，欲邻国闻而观之也。恐其事不成，故出兵以佯示赵、魏；恐天下之惊觉，故（微）[征]韩以贰之；恐天下疑己，故出质以为信。声德于与国，而实伐（空）[郑]韩。臣窃观其图之也，议秦以谋计必出于是。

“且夫说士之计皆曰：‘韩亡三川，魏灭晋国，恃韩未穷而祸及于赵。’且物固有势异而患同者，又有势同而患异者。昔者，楚人久伐而中山亡。今燕尽（韩）[齐]之河南，距沙丘而至巨鹿之界三百里，距于扞

【今译】

里通过一些事情进行观察，秦国怎么会爱护赵国而憎恶齐国呢？它想灭掉韩国，侵吞两个周国的土地，所以就把齐国作为诱饵，先在天下放出风声，想让邻国听到后注意到它爱护赵国。恐怕事情不能成功，所以假装攻打韩国给赵国和魏国看；害怕天下各国警觉起来，所以假装在韩国征兵，让它们起疑心；担心天下各国怀疑自己，所以派出人质来博取信任。声称跟盟国保持友好，而实际上要进攻郑国和韩国。我私下观察它的计策，以为秦国的计谋一定是这样的。

“再说士人们的计策都宣称：‘韩国失去了三川，魏国失去了绛与安邑等地区，在极其短暂的时间内，灾祸就会降临到赵国。’而且事情本来就有情势不同但却面临相同的忧患的，也有情势相同但却面临不同的忧患的。从前，楚国连年被攻伐而赵国趁机消灭了中山国。如今燕国占领了齐国黄河以南的所有地区，距离沙丘和巨鹿只有三百里，距离扞



recent events privately. How can Qin feel close to the state of Zhao and be bitter towards the state of Qi? In order to destroy the state of Han and seize the territory of both the state of West Zhou and the state of East Zhou, Qin is using the state of Qi as a kind of bait to make other states in the world believe that it is close to the state of Zhao. In fear of not being able to reach this goal, Qin has ostensibly sent troops to attack Zhao and Wei. Qin is afraid that other states might be cautious about it, so it pretends to recruit soldiers from the state of Han to beguile other state. Qin fears that these states might not trust it, so it has sent hostages to them to show its honesty. Although Qin declares that it will maintain good relations with its allied states, in fact it is about to invade the states of Zheng and Han. I have privately speculated about Qin's tactics and think that Qin will definitely take such action.

"Regarding the plans of persuasive talkers, they all say, 'The state of Han has lost Sanchuan and the state of Wei has lost Jiang and Anyi. As a result, the state of Zhao will soon find itself in trouble.' It is natural that events in different cases might have similar problems, or that events in similar cases might have different problems. Previously, after the state of Chu had been under attack for a long time, the state of Zhao took occasion to destroy the state of Zhongshan. Now the state of Yan has taken over all the region south of the Yellow River from the state of Qi, and therefore fixed its border only about three hundred *li* away from Shaqiu and Julu, and five hundred *li* away from Hanguan and Yuzhong.



【原文】

关,至于榆中千五百里。秦尽韩、魏之上党,则地与国都邦属而壤挈者七百里。秦以三军强弩坐羊唐之上,即地去邯郸[百]二十里。且秦以三军攻王之上党而危其北,则句注之西非王之有也。今鲁句注禁常山而守,三百里通于燕之唐、曲吾,此代马胡驹不东,而昆山之玉不出也。此三宝者,又非王之有也。今从于强秦国之伐齐,臣恐其祸出于是矣。昔者,五国之王尝合横而谋伐赵,参分赵国壤地,著之盘盂,属之讎柞。五国之兵有日矣,(韩)[齐]乃西师以禁秦国,使秦发令素服而听,反温、枳、高平于魏,反三公、什清于赵,此王之明知也。夫(韩)[齐]事赵宜正

【今译】

关和榆中一千五百里。秦国完全占有了韩国和魏国的上党地区,那它的国土跟韩国接壤的就有七百多里。秦国派大军和强劲的弓弩手固守羊肠,那个地方距离邯郸只有一百二十里。如果秦国派出大军进攻大王的上党地区并且威胁它的北部,那句注以西就不属于大王所有了。如果他们越过句注把守往常山,那里再有三百里就能通到燕国的唐和曲吾,如果是这样,代地出产的马和胡地出产的驹就不能输送到东方,崑山产的美玉也不能运送出赵国了。这三样宝物又不属于大王所有了。如今您联合强大的秦国进攻齐国,我担心灾祸将会由此产生。从前,秦、齐、魏、韩、燕五个国家的君主联合起来图谋进攻赵国,共同瓜分赵国的土地,把这个约定刻在盘盂上,写在册簿里。五国的军队作战有些时日了,齐国派兵向西禁止秦军采取军事行动,让秦王下令解除称帝并且穿上丧服表示服罪,把温、枳和高平交还魏国,把三公和什清交还



Qin has occupied the whole region of Shangdang which used to belong to the state of Han and the state of Wei. Thus Qin currently shares about seven hundred *li* of border with the state of Han. If Qin sends its armies and formidable archers to safeguard Yangchang (referring to a natural fortification), they will be only about one hundred and twenty *li* away from the capital of Handan. If Qin dispatch its armies to attack the area of Shangdang and therefore pose a severe threat to the northern region, Your Majesty won't be able to secure the area west of Gouzhu. If the troops of Qin march through Gouzhu to safeguard Mount Chang, they will be only about three hundred *li* away from Tang and Quwu of the state of Yan. As a result, horses bred in Dai and ponies raised by the Hu people cannot be transported to the east. Nor can the jade produced in Mount Kun be transported from the state of Zhao. Thus these three precious resources will no longer belong to Your Majesty. Now that you have united with the powerful Qin in attacking the state of Qi, I am afraid this might bring you more trouble. Previously, five states—Qin, Qi, Wei, Han and Yan built up allied forces to attack the state of Zhao and then divided Zhao's territory. Their agreement was inscribed in plates and also kept on files. Some time after the allied forces took action, the state of Han sent its troops to stop Qin's military action against Zhao. It also ordered the king of Qin to give up calling himself King and wear a funeral suit to show his regret for having proclaimed himself King. Then Qin returned the areas of Wen, Zhi and Gaoping to Wei, and Sangong and Shiqing to



【原文】

为上交，今乃以抵罪取伐，臣恐其后事王者之不敢自必也。今王收，天下必以王为得；（韩）[齐]危社稷以事王，天下必重王。然则（韩）[齐]义，王以天下就之；（下至韩慕）[齐暴]，王以天下收之，是一世之命制于王已。臣愿大王深与左右群臣（卒计而重谋）[详计某言]，先事成虑而熟图之也！”

【今译】

给赵国，这是大王清楚地知道的。齐国侍奉赵国，应该算作很好的邦交，如今为了抵消罪过而要讨伐它，我害怕以后侍奉大王的人不敢这么做啊。如今大王跟齐国联合，天下人一定会认为大王很正义；齐奉上自己的国家来侍奉大王，天下各国一定会非常重视大王。如果齐国奉行大义，大王就率领天下各国亲附它；如果齐国暴虐，大王就率领天下各国讨伐它，这样天下人的命运就控制在大王手里了。我希望大王跟身边的大臣仔细谋划一下我的话，事先考虑成熟，然后仔细实施这个计划。”

齐攻宋奉阳君不欲

【原文】

齐攻宋，奉阳君不欲。客谓奉阳君曰：“君之春秋高矣，而封地不定，不可不熟图也。秦之贪，韩、魏危，（卫）[燕]、楚（正）[僻]，中山之地

【今译】

齐国进攻宋国，赵国的奉阳君不同意。有人劝说奉阳君道：“您年事已高了，但是封地却没有确定下来，不能不详细谋划一下啊。秦国非常贪婪，如果您的封地定在韩国和魏国，就有被秦国吞并的危险；定在楚国和燕国，就很偏僻；定在中山国，那里的土地很贫瘠。宋国罪孽深



Zhao. Of course Your Majesty knows this well. Recently the state of Qi has established very good relations with your state. But you are about to attack Qi as a remedy for your sins. I am afraid that people will hesitate in making up their minds to work for you. If you maintain your good relations with the state of Qi, other states in the world will definitely consider you righteous. If the state of Qi submits to you, other states in the world will attach importance to you as well. Therefore, if the state of Qi is righteous, you can lead other states in the world to establish ties with it. If the state of Qi is tyrannical, you can unite with other states to attack it. As a result, the whole world may come under your firm control. I hope that Your Majesty think deeply and carefully about my words together with your high-ranking court officials. Draw up a detailed plan in advance, then take action to carry it out."

The Troops of Qi Attacked Song but Lord Fengyang Was Against the War

The troops of the state of Qi attacked the state of Song. However, Lord Fengyang of the state of Zhao was against the war. Someone went to see Lord Fengyang and said, "You are very old now. However, your fief has not been decided yet. Therefore, you should plan for it thoroughly. Qin is very covetous. If you obtain some land from the state of Han or the state of Wei, it will come under Qin's threat. If it is located in the state of Chu or the state of Yan, that's very far



【原文】

薄，宋罪重，齐怒深，残伐乱宋，定身封，德强齐，此百代之一时也。”

【今译】

重，如果讨伐混乱的宋国，可以在宋国的疆域里确定您的封地，又能让强大的齐国感激您，这是百代难得的机会啊。”

秦王谓公子他

【原文】

秦王谓公子他曰：“昔岁崤下之事，韩为中军，以与诸侯攻秦。韩与秦接境壤界，其地不能千里，展转不可约。日者秦、楚战于蓝田，韩出锐师以佐秦，秦战不利，因转与楚，不固信盟，唯便是从。韩之在我，心腹之疾。吾将伐之，何如？”公子他曰：“王出兵韩，韩必惧，惧则可以不战

【今译】

【今译】

秦王对公子他说：“前几年崤山战役中，韩国作为中军，联合各国军队一起进攻秦国。韩国跟秦国接壤，它的地盘不足千里，反复无常，不能信守盟约。以前秦国和楚国在蓝田交战的时候，韩国派出精锐部队援助秦国，秦国在战争中失利，韩国转身投靠楚国，不信守盟约，只是贪图便利。韩国对于我们的心腹之患。我想攻打它，怎么样？”公子他说：“大王出兵进攻韩国，韩国一定非常害怕，害怕了就可以无需作战就割取很多土地。”秦王说：“好。”于是就起兵，一支军队进逼荥阳，一支军队



away. And the land of the state of Zhongshan is not fertile at all. Song has committed severe misconduct and Qi is very angry with it. If you attack the chaotic Song, not only will you ensure a fief, but you can also make the powerful Qi grateful to you. Such opportunity comes only once in one hundred generations."

Qin's King Had a Talk with Childe Tuo

The king of the state of Qin had a talk with Childe Tuo and said, "Several years ago, when the troops of other states were attacking us near Mount Xiao, the troops of the state of Han served as the main force, otherwise known as the Middle Army, in invading us along with the troops of other states. Our state is adjacent to the state of Han. Not only is Han's territory less than one thousand square *li*, but it is also very unreliable. Previously, the troops of our state and those of the state of Chu engaged in Lantian. Han sent selected troops to assist us. However, when they realized that we would be likely to lose the war, they turned to unite with the state of Chu. Han won't adhere to any agreement and only focuses on taking advantages to benefit itself. Hence the state of Han poses a severe threat to our state. I am going to launch an attack on it. What do you think of that?" Childe Tuo said, "If you dispatch troops to invade Han, it will be frightened. Thus we can gain a lot of land from it without taking any military action." The king said, "Very good." So he sent two bodies of troops: one marched towards Xingyang and the



【原文】

而深取割。”王曰：“善。”乃起兵，一军临茆阳，一军临太行。

韩恐，使阳城君入谢于秦，请效上党之地以为和。令韩阳告上党之守靳黈曰：“秦起二军以临韩，韩不能有。今王令韩兴兵以上党人和于秦，使阳言之太守，太守其效之。”靳黈曰：“人有言：‘挈瓶之知，不失守器。’王则有令，而臣太守，虽王与子亦其猜焉。臣请悉发守以应秦，若不能卒，则死之。”韩阳趋以报王，王曰：“吾始已诺于应侯矣。今不与，是欺之也。”乃使冯亭代靳黈。

冯亭守三十日，阴使人请赵王曰：“韩不能守上党，且以与秦，其民皆不欲为秦，而愿为赵。今有城市之邑（七十）[十七]，愿拜内之于王，唯王才之。”赵王喜，召平（原）[阳]君而告之曰：“韩不能守上党，且以与秦，其吏民不欲为秦，而皆愿为赵。今冯亭令使者以与寡人，何如？”赵

【今译】

进逼太行山地区。

韩国非常惊恐，派阳城君到秦国请罪，请求进献上党地区来讲和。韩王派韩阳对上党太守靳黈说：“秦国派出两支军队进逼韩国，韩国不能保全了。现在大王命令把上党割让给秦国来讲和，派我告知太守，太守务必把上党献出去。”靳黈说：“百姓有句话说：‘提着瓶子的人也知道不能把它扔了。’尽管大王下了命令，但我是太守，虽然大王和您认为我不能固守。我请求派出全部兵力来对抗秦军，如果不能战胜他们，就死在战场上。”韩阳跑去汇报韩王，韩王说：“我开始已经许诺应侯把上党割让给秦国了。现在不给它，就是欺骗他啊。”于是就派冯亭替换了靳黈。

冯亭坚守了三十天，暗中派人向赵王请示道：“韩国不能固守上党了，将要把它献给秦国，那里的百姓多不愿做秦国的子民，而愿意投靠



other approached Mount Taihang.

The state of Han took fright. So the king of Han sent Lord Yangcheng to the state of Qin to beg forgiveness and present Qin with Shangdang, as a peace offering. The king of Han ordered Han Yang to inform Jin Tun, the officer in charge of safeguarding Shangdang, as follows: "Qin has sent two armies to invade our state, and we are unable to defend our state. Now His Majesty has ordered to cede the region of Shangdang to the state of Qin to make peace. He has sent me here to inform you about it. Please follow this order." Jin Tun said, "There is a saying: 'A person carrying a jar won't discard it.' Although His Majesty has issued this order, I will do my best to defend Shangdang despite the fact that both His Majesty and you might doubt my capability of defending it. I will ask for permission to send all our officers and men to confront the enemy troops. If we cannot defeat them, I will fight to the death." Han Yang ran back to report to the king. The king said, "I have already promised Marquis Ying (referring to Fan Ju, the prime minister of the state of Qin) to cede the area of Shangdang to Qin. If we don't give him the land, it means that we are cheating him." So he appointed Feng Ting to replace Jin Tun.

Thirty days after Feng Ting took office to defend Shangdang, he secretly sent someone to take a message to the king of the state of Zhao as follows: "Han is incapable of defending Shangdang. So it is about to give it up to the state of Qin. However, the people don't want to become subjects of Qin, and they wish to become citizens of the state of Zhao.



【原文】

豹对曰：“臣闻圣人甚祸无故之利。”王曰：“人怀吾义，何为无故乎？”对曰：“秦蚕食韩氏之地，中绝不令相通，故自以为坐受上党也。且夫韩之所以内赵者，欲嫁其祸也。秦被其劳而赵受其利，虽强大不能得之于小弱，而小弱顾能得之强大乎？今王取之，可谓有故乎？且秦以牛田，水通粮，其死士皆列之于上地，令严政行，不可与战。王自图之！”王大怒

【今译】

赵国。如今我们有十七个大的城邑，愿意把它们拜献给大王，一切请大王定夺。”赵王非常高兴，召见平阳君，告诉他这件事，说：“韩国不能固守上党了，将要把它送给秦国，那里的官员和百姓都不想投靠秦国，而愿意做我们赵国的子民。如今冯亭派使者来把它献给我，怎么样？”赵豹回答说：“我听说圣人把平白无故得到的利益视为极大的祸害。”赵王说：“别人仰慕我的大义，怎么能说是平白无故呢？”赵豹回答说：“秦国蚕食韩国的土地，从中央切断韩国交通，所以自以为不费任何力气就能得到上党了。再说韩国之所以把上党献给赵国，是要把灾祸转嫁给我们啊。秦国付出劳顿而让赵国得到利益，即便是强大的国家也不能从弱小的国家那里得到这样的利益，而弱小的国家难道能从强大的国家那里得到如此好处？如今大王接受上党，能称得上有理由吗？况且秦国用牛耕田，用水路运输粮食，为国家效死的武士都被分赐到上等的土



Now we have seventeen big cities and towns located here and I want to give them to Your Majesty. It's up to you." The king of Zhao was very happy, so he called in Lord Pingyang, told him about it and said, "Now Han is incapable of defending Shangdang, so it is about to present it to the state of Qin. However, the officers and the people there don't want to become subjects of the state of Qin, but want to submit to our state. Now Feng Ting has sent someone here to inform me of this news. What do you think of it?" Zhao Bao replied, "I heard that sages regard huge profit gained without any endeavours as severe disasters." The king said, "They admire my righteousness. Why do you say that we gain it without any endeavours?" Zhao Bao replied, "Qin has encroached on the territory of the state of Han, occupied the central part of Han and therefore blocked off communications in the state. Thus Qin thinks that it can easily obtain Shangdang. Moreover, the reason why Han wants to present us with Shangdang lies in the fact that it wants to shift this problem onto us. Qin has exerted itself very much to gain that land and now you are going to take it over without any exertion. In this case, even a big and powerful state cannot take advantage of a small and weak one. How then can a small and weak state take advantage of a big and powerful one? Now you can take over this region, but do you think it is reasonable for you to do so? In addition, the state of Qin ploughs the fields with oxen and transports grain along canals, confers first-rate land on its warriors who wouldn't hesitate to fight to the death for the sake of the state. Its



【原文】

曰：“夫用百万之众，攻战逾年历岁，未得一城也。今不用兵而得城（七十）[十七]，何故不为？”赵豹出。

王召赵胜、赵禹而告之，曰：“韩不能守上党，今其守以与寡人，有城市之邑（七十）[十七]。”二人对曰：“用兵逾年，未（见）[得]一城，今坐而得城，此大利也。”乃使赵胜往受地。

赵胜至，曰：“敝邑之王使使者臣胜，太守有诏，使臣胜谓曰：‘请以三万户之都封太守，千户封县令，诸吏皆益爵三级；民能相集者，赐家六金。’”冯亭垂涕而勉曰：“是吾处三不义也：为主守地而不能死，而以与

【今译】

地，军令严明，政令通行，不能跟它交战。大王还是考虑考虑吧！”赵王非常生气地说：“动用一百万大军，经过长年累月的攻战，也不能得到一座城邑。如今无需用兵就得到十七座城邑，为什么不接受呢？”赵豹出来了。

赵王召见赵胜与赵禹，告诉他们说：“韩国不能坚守上党了，如今上党太守要送给我十七座大的城邑。”两人回答说：“我们用兵作战一年多时间，也没有得到一座城邑，如今可以不费吹灰之力得到城邑，这是巨大的利益啊。”于是赵王派赵胜前去接管土地。

赵胜到了上党，说：“鄙国的君主派我为使者，让我对太守说：‘把拥有三万户人家的城邑分封给太守，把拥有一千户人家的城邑分封给县令，所有官员都晋升三级；百姓中能够和睦相处的，赏赐给每家六镒黄金。’冯亭流着泪谢绝道：‘这样一来，我就陷入三重不义了：为君主守卫土地而不能效死，而且把它送给了别人，这是第一层不义；君主把它献



military orders are strict and civil orders are carried out successfully. So we shouldn't challenge it. Please think about it carefully, Your Majesty!" The king was irritated and said, "Even if we sent out one million soldiers, we might not occupy any city in many years. Now that we can gain seventeen cities and towns without taking any military action, why should we reject it?" Zhao Bao left.

The king then called in Zhao Sheng and Zhao Yu, told them about it and said, "Han is incapable of defending Shangdang. Now the officer defending Shangdang has promised to give me seventeen big cities and towns in that area." These two men replied, "We might not be able to seize any city after one year's warfare. Now that we can gain cities and towns easily, it is a huge gain." So the king sent Zhao Sheng to take over the land.

When Zhao Sheng arrived in Shangdang, he declared, "The sovereign of our state has sent me here as an emissary to extend an order to the officer defending this area as follows: 'Confer a big town with thirty thousand families on the officer safeguarding Shangdang. Confer a town with one thousand families on the chief official of each county in this area. All other officers will be promoted three ranks higher. Families co-operating with each other will be bestowed six *yi* of gold each.'" Feng Ting rejected the reward in tears and said, "So I will be forced to bear three kinds of unrighteousness. I didn't fight to the death to defend the territory for His Majesty but gave it up to someone else. This is the first unrighteous act. His Majesty has promised this



【原文】

人，不义一也；主内之秦，不顺主命，不义二也；卖主之地而食之，不义三也。”辞封而入韩，谓韩王曰：“赵闻韩不能守上党，今发兵已取之矣。”韩告秦曰：“赵起兵取上党。”秦王怒，令公孙起、王齕以兵遇赵于长平。

【今译】

给秦国，而我没有听从他的命令，这是第二层不义；出卖君主的土地而自己接受封赏，这是第三层不义。”他推辞掉封地回到韩国都城，对韩王说：“赵国听说韩国不能守卫上党，如今已经派兵占领那里了。”

韩国告诉秦国说：“赵国派兵攻占了上党。”秦王非常恼火，命令公孙起、王齕率领军队跟赵军在长平开战。

苏秦为赵王使于秦

【原文】

苏秦为赵王使于秦，反，三日不得见。谓赵王曰：“秦乃者过柱山，有两木焉，一盖呼侣，一盖哭。问其故，对曰：‘吾已大矣，年已长矣，吾苦夫匠人且以绳墨案规矩刻镂我。’一盖曰：‘此非吾所苦也，是故吾事也。吾所苦夫铁钻然，自入而出夫人者。’今臣使于秦，而三日不见，无有谓臣为铁钻者乎？”

【今译】

苏秦为赵王出使秦国，回来后，三天都不能见到赵王。他对赵王说：“我去秦国路过柱山，那里有两棵树，一棵好像在呼唤伴侣，一棵好像在哭泣。问它们为什么，一棵回答说：‘我已经长大了，年岁很大了，我痛苦是因为工匠即将用绳墨测量我并且用规矩雕刻我。’另一棵好似说：‘这不是我所感到苦恼的，这本来就是我们应该做的事。我感到痛心的是铁楔，它进入我们的身体里后又出来。’如今我出使秦国，然而回来三天了还不能见到您，没有人说我是个铁楔吗？”



land to Qin but I acted against his order. This is the second unrighteous act. I ceded His Majesty's territory and then accepted it as my own fief. This is the third unrighteous act." He rejected the reward and went back to the capital of Han to report to the king. He said, "The state of Zhao heard that we were incapable of defending the region of Shangdang, so it has sent troops to occupy the region."

The state of Han told the state of Qin, "The troops of Zhao have occupied Shangdang." The king of Qin was very angry, so he ordered Gongsun Qi and Wang Yi to lead troops to attack Changping of the state of Zhao.

Su Qin Was on a Diplomatic Mission to Qin on Behalf of Zhao

Su Qin went to the state of Qin on a diplomatic mission for the state of Zhao. After he came back, he didn't have the chance to see the king of Zhao until three days later. He told the king of Zhao, "When I passed by Mount Zhu in the state of Qin, I saw two trees there. One seemed to be shouting at its partner and the other was crying. I asked them the reason. One tree said, 'I am fully grown and very old. I am afraid that craftsmen might soon measure me and chisel me with their tools.' The other said, 'This doesn't bother me, because this is what we are for. What worries me is the iron wedge. It wedges into us and then leaves us.' You sent me on a diplomatic mission to the state of Qin. But I was unable to see you till three days after I came back. Hasn't anyone told you that I am also an iron wedge?"



甘茂为秦约魏以攻韩宜阳

【原文】

甘茂为秦约魏以攻韩宜阳，又北之赵，泠向谓强国曰：“不如令赵拘甘茂，勿出，以与齐、韩、秦市。齐王欲求救宜阳，必效县狐氏。韩欲有宜阳，必以路、涉、端氏赂赵。秦王欲得宜阳，不爱名宝。且拘茂也，且以置公孙赫、樗里疾。”

【今译】

甘茂为秦国联合魏国一起攻打韩国的宜阳，又向北来到赵国。泠向对强国说：“不如让赵国扣押甘茂，不放他走，用他跟齐国、韩国和秦国做交易。齐王想援救宜阳，必定会献出狐氏。韩国想保全宜阳，必定会拿路、涉、端氏贿赂大王。秦国想得到宜阳，就不会吝惜有名的宝物。而且扣押了甘茂，公孙郝和樗里疾将会受到重用。”

谓皮相国

【原文】

谓皮相国曰：“以赵之弱而据之建信君，涉孟之仇，然者何也？以从为有功也。齐不从，建信君知从之无功。建信者安能以无功恶秦哉？不能以无功恶秦，则且出兵助秦攻魏，以楚、赵分齐，则是强毕矣。建

【今译】

有人对皮相国说：“就凭赵国那么软弱却拥有建信君、涉孟等人，这是为什么呢？是他们认为合纵能够成功的缘故。如果齐国不跟他们联合，建信君就会意识到合纵不能成功。建信君等人合纵如果不成功，怎能对秦国构成威胁呢？不能成功推行合纵来威胁秦国，就会出兵帮助秦国进攻魏国，凭借楚国和赵国来瓜分齐国，那样赵国就必定会强大起



Gan Mao United with Wei for Qin to Attack Han's Yiyang

For the benefit of the state of Qin, Gan Mao united with the state of Wei to attack Yiyang of the state of Han. Then he headed northwards for the state of Zhao. Ling Xiang suggested to Qiang Guo, "You'd better ask the king of Zhao to detain Gan Mao and don't let him go back to Qin. Then you can use him to bargain with the states of Qi, Han and Qin. If the king of Qi wants Yiyang, he will definitely cede you the area of Hushi. If Han wants to maintain Yiyang, it will definitely present you with the regions of Lu, She and Duanshi. If the king of Qin wants Yiyang, he won't hesitate to give you precious treasures. Moreover, if we detain Gan Mao, Gongsun Hao and Chu Liji will be assigned to powerful posts."

Someone Had a Talk with Prime Minister Pi

Someone had a talk with Prime Minister Pi and said, "Weak as the state of Zhao is, it has employed such people as Lord Jianxin and She Meng etc. What's the reason? Well, they think that their tactics of Hezong will succeed. If the state of Qi doesn't join Hezong, Lord Jianxin will realize that Hezong will result in failure. If this is the case, how can he pose any threat to the state of Qin? Being unable to pose any concrete threat to Qin, he will send troops to help Qin in attacking the state of Wei. And he will also unite with the



【原文】

信、春申从，则无功而恶秦；（秦）分齐（齐）亡魏，则有功而善秦。故两君者，奚择有功之无功为知哉？”

【今译】

来了。建信君和春申君合纵，不能成功而且还会得罪秦国；（跟秦国一同）瓜分齐国、消灭魏国，就会有功而且能跟秦国亲善。所以这两个人，在有功与无功之间怎样才能作出明智的选择呢？”

或谓皮相国

【原文】

或谓皮相国曰：“魏杀吕辽而卫兵，亡其北阳而梁危，河间封不定而（齐）[赵]危，文信不得志，三晋倍之忧也。今魏耻未灭，赵患又起，文信侯之忧大矣。齐不从，三晋之心疑矣。忧大者不计而构，心疑者事秦

【今译】

有人对皮相国说：“魏国杀死吕辽，而后卫国受到入侵，丧失了北阳，而后魏国都城大梁陷入危机，河间的封地没有确定而赵国陷入危机，文信侯不得志，韩国、赵国和魏国很担心此事。如今魏国蒙受的耻辱还没有昭雪，赵国又受到入侵的威胁，文信侯的忧虑相当严重了。齐国不跟山东各国联合，韩国、赵国和魏国就会对它起疑心。有很大忧虑的不等到合计好就会请求讲和，心中怀有疑虑的会急于侍奉秦国。秦国和魏国的和解，不需要割让土地就已经谈妥了。秦国让楚国和魏国



state of Chu and the state of Zhao to divide the territory of the state of Qi. Accordingly, the state of Zhao will definitely be strengthened. If Lord Jianxin and Lord Chunshen practice Hezong, not only will their plan result in failure, but they will also offend the state of Qin. If they join Qin in carving up the state of Qi and ruining the state of Wei, they will become meritorious and also will become close to Qin. So, how can these two lords make a wise choice between meritoriousness and failure?"

Someone Had a Talk with Prime Minister Pi

Someone had a talk with Prime Minister Pi and said, "After the state of Wei I sentenced Lü Liao to death, the state of Wei II was invaded. After Wei I lost Beiyang, the capital of Liang was in danger. While the area of Hejian has not been conferred on anyone as a fief, the state of Zhao is under threat. Marquis Wenxin cannot fulfill his wishes, which is worrisome to the states of Han, Zhao and Wei. Now while the humiliation suffered by the state of Wei has not been avenged, the state of Zhao is under attack again. Therefore Marquis Wenxin is in severe trouble. If the state of Qi refuses to unite with those states located east of Mount Xiao, Han, Zhao and Wei will doubt its sincerity. States in severe trouble will be likely to make peace with their enemies before they are well prepared to negotiate. States not confident in themselves will submit to the state of Qin in a hurry. Zhao has made peace with Qin before it cedes land to Qin. If Qin unite with



【原文】

急。秦魏之构，不待割而成。秦从楚魏攻齐，独吞赵，齐、赵必俱亡矣。”

【今译】

进攻齐国，独自吞并赵国，齐国和赵国都定会灭亡了。”

赵王封孟尝君以武城

【原文】

赵王封孟尝君以武城。孟尝君择舍人以为武城吏，而遣之曰：“鄙语岂不曰‘借车者驰之，借衣者被之’哉？”皆对曰：“有之。”孟尝君曰：“文甚不取也。夫所借衣车者，非亲友，则兄弟也。夫驰亲友之车，被兄弟之衣，文以为不可。今赵王不知文不肖，而封之以武城，愿大夫之往也，毋伐树木，毋发屋室，訾然使赵王悟而知文也。谨使，可全而归之。”

【今译】

赵王把武城分封给孟尝君，孟尝君选择了几个家臣做武城的官吏，打发他们前往武城的时候说：“俗话不是说‘借来的车子就驾着快跑，借来的衣服就不爱惜地穿’吗？”他们都说：“有这个说法。”孟尝君说：“我很不赞成这句话。出借衣服和车子的，不是亲友就是兄弟。驾着亲友的车子快跑，不爱惜地穿用兄弟的衣服，我认为不可以这样。如今赵王不知道我无能，而把武城封给我。希望你们到了那里，不要砍伐树木，不要毁坏房屋，勤勤勉勉做事，让赵王能意识到我的为人。谨慎从事，日后可以将武城完好无损地奉还。”

谓赵王曰三晋合而秦弱

【原文】

谓赵王曰：“三晋合而秦弱，三晋离而秦强，此天下之所明也。秦之

【今译】

有人对赵王说：“韩国、赵国和魏国三个国家联合起来，秦国就会削



Chu and Wei to attack Qi, and annexes Zhao by itself, both Qi and Zhao will be ruined."

Zhao's King Conferred Wucheng on Lord Mengchang

The king of the state of Zhao conferred Wucheng on Lord Mengchang. Lord Mengchang selected several personal officers to administer that area. When he sent them off, he said, "A saying says, 'Drive borrowed carriages rapidly, and wear borrowed clothes carelessly', doesn't it?" They all said, "Oh, yes." Lord Mengchang said, "I hate this saying. Those who lend carriages or clothes to you are either your friends or your relatives. I don't think people should drive their friends' carriages rapidly or wear their relatives' clothes carelessly. Now the king of the state of Zhao hasn't realized that I am indeed unworthy. So he has conferred the city of Wucheng on me. After you people arrive there, I hope that you will not hack down trees or damage people's houses. Make sure to work assiduously and thus let the king know what a kind of person I really am. Perform your duties carefully so that we can return Wucheng intact to the king some day."

Someone Had a Talk with Zhao's King

Someone had a talk with the king of the state of Zhao and said, "If the states of Han, Zhao and Wei unite with each other to confront the state of Qin, Qin will be weakened. If



【原文】

有燕而伐赵，有赵而伐燕；有梁而伐赵，有赵而伐梁；有楚而伐韩，有韩而伐楚；此天下之所明见也。然山东不能易其路，兵弱也。弱而不能相一，是何楚之知、山东之愚也！是臣所为山东之忧也。虎将即禽，禽不知虎之即己也而相斗，两罢而归其死于虎。故使禽知虎之即己，决不相斗矣。今山东之主，不知秦之即己也而尚相斗，两敝而归其国于秦，知不如禽远矣。愿王熟虑之也。

【今译】

弱；三个国家不联合，秦国就会强大。这是天下人都很清楚的。秦国跟燕国亲近就会攻打赵国，跟赵国亲近就会攻打燕国；跟魏国亲近就会进攻赵国，跟赵国亲近就会进攻魏国；跟楚国亲近就会进攻韩国，跟韩国亲近就会进攻楚国。这是天下人都看得很清楚的。然而山东各国不能改变它们的策略，因为它们的兵力弱小。兵力弱小而且不能互相联合，怎么楚国这么聪明，山东各国这么愚蠢呢！这是我为山东各国所担忧的。老虎即将靠近野兽，野兽不知道老虎靠近自己而互相决斗，两败俱伤后都被老虎吃掉。所以假如野兽知道老虎在靠近自己，一定不会互相决斗的。如果山东各国的君主不知道秦国正在逼近自己而还在互相争斗，彼此弄得疲惫不堪从而让秦国控制起它们的国家，就远远不如禽兽聪明。希望大王仔细考虑这件事。



these three states don't build up an alliance, Qin will be strengthened. This is clear to people all over the world. If the state of Qin establishes good relations with the state of Yan, they will attack the state of Zhao together. If it establishes good relations with the state of Zhao, they will launch a concerted attack on the state of Yan. If it establishes good relations with the state of Wei, they will attack the state of Zhao together. If it establishes good relations with the state of Zhao, they will launch a concerted attack on the state of Wei. If it establishes good relations with the state of Chu, they will attack the state of Han together. If it establishes good relations with the state of Han, they will launch a concerted attack on the state of Chu. This is also clear to people all over the world. But those states located east of Mount Xiao wouldn't change their tactics because their military forces are weak. In this case, they cannot ally with each other. Why is the state of Chu so clever and those states located east of Mount Xiao so stupid! That's why I worry about them. Two wild animals are fighting each other without noticing that a tiger is approaching. As a result, they both will become exhausted and be killed by the tiger. So, if the animals knew about the approaching of the tiger, they would no longer fight each other. Now those states east of Mount Xiao don't realize that the troops of the state of Qin are approaching them, so they are fighting each other and thus allowing the state of Qin to take advantage of them. They are no more intelligent than wild animals in this respect. I hope that Your Majesty meditate on this carefully.



【原文】

“今事有可急者，秦之欲伐韩、梁，东阙于周室甚，惟寐亡之。今南攻楚者，恶三晋之大合也。今攻楚，休而复之，已五年矣，攘地千余里。今谓楚王：‘苟来举玉趾而见寡人，必与楚为兄弟之国，必为楚攻韩、梁，反楚之故地。’楚王美秦之语，怒韩、梁之不救己，必入于秦。有谋故（杀）[发]使之赵，以燕饵赵，而离三晋。今王美秦之言而欲攻燕，攻燕，食未饱而祸已及矣。楚王入秦，秦、楚为一，东面而攻韩。韩南无楚，北无赵，韩不待伐，割挈马（兔）[俛]而西走。秦与韩为上交，秦祸安移于

【今译】

“如今情况非常紧急。秦国想进攻韩国和魏国，急于取代周王室，只有睡着了才能暂且忘记此事。如今秦国向南进攻楚国，是因为担心韩国、赵国和魏国联合起来。秦国进攻楚国，停战了又重新进攻，已经有五年时间了，夺取了一千多里土地。如今对楚王说：‘如果亲自来见我，一定会跟楚国结为兄弟国，必定为楚国进攻韩国和魏国，返还从楚国侵占的土地。’楚王觉得秦王的话很中听，恼火韩国和魏国不营救自己，一定要到秦国去。秦国又谋划派使者到赵国去，跟赵国联合起来进攻燕国，从而离间韩国、赵国和魏国的关系。如今大王听信秦王的甜言蜜语而打算进攻燕国，如果进攻燕国，一顿饭还没有吃完的工夫灾祸就已经临头了。楚王去秦国，秦国和楚国联合，一起向东进攻韩国。韩国南面没有楚国的支持，北面没有赵国的援助，不用等到被进攻，就会牵着马向西投奔秦国了。秦国和韩国的交情很好了，秦军入侵的灾祸就转移到魏国了。凭着秦国的强大，又有楚国和韩国的支持，魏国不等秦国出兵，就会牵着马向西投奔秦国了。秦国和魏国的交情很好了，秦军



"Now some things are very urgent. Qin longs to invade the states of Han and Wei and eagerly covets the territory of the royal family of the Zhou Dynasty. These thoughts can only be put aside during sleep. Now the troops of Qin are attacking the state of Chu in the south, because they hate Han, Zhao and Wei building an alliance. As for Qin's war against the state of Chu, it stopped once but started again. Five years have passed and Qin has seized more than one thousand square *li* of land from Chu. Recently, the king of Qin sent a message to the king of Chu as follows: 'If you come to see me in person, I will befriend your state and will also attack the states of Han and Wei to help your state, so that they will return the land taken from you.' The king of Chu thought highly of the words of the king of the state of Qin and was embittered towards the states of Han and Wei since they did not send troops to rescue his state. So he made up his mind to go to the state of Qin in person. The king of Qin also plans to send someone to the state of Zhao to promise to help it attack the state of Yan so as to alienate the states of Han, Zhao and Wei. Now Your Majesty believe the words of the king of Qin and therefore is planning to attack the state of Yan. If you attack Yan, you will find yourself in trouble right away. If the king of Chu goes to the state of Qin, Chu and Qin will unite with each other to dispatch their troops eastwards to attack the state of Han. Han will lose the support of both the state of Chu in the south and the state of Zhao in the north. As a result, even before the two sides engage, the people of Han will turn their horses and head



【原文】

梁矣。以秦之强，有楚、韩之用，梁不待伐矣，割挈马（兔）[俛]而西走。秦与梁为上交，秦祸案攘于赵矣。以（强秦之）[秦之强]，有韩、梁、楚与燕之怒，割必深矣。国之举此，臣之所为来。臣故曰：事有可急为者。

“及楚王之未入也，三晋相亲相坚，出锐师以戍韩、梁西边，楚王闻之，必不入秦，秦必怒而循攻楚，是秦祸不离楚也，便于三晋。若楚王入，秦见三晋之大合而坚也，必不出楚王，即多割，是秦祸不离楚也，有

【今译】

入侵的灾祸就会转移到赵国了。凭着秦国的强大，又有韩国、魏国和楚国的支持，再加上燕国对赵国的愤怒，一定会割让出很多的土地。赵国有这样的举动，我就是为了这件事而来的。所以我说：如今情况非常紧急的。

“趁楚王还没有到秦国去，韩国、赵国和魏国互相亲近、彼此支持，派出精锐部队守卫韩国和魏国西部地区，楚王听说了，一定不会到秦国去，秦国一定会很恼火从而进攻楚国。这样一来，秦国不入侵楚国，就侵略韩国、赵国和魏国。如果楚王去了秦国，秦国看见韩国、赵国和魏国坚定地联合在一起，一定不会放楚王出来，就会从楚国割取很多土地，这样秦国的灾祸还是没有离开楚国，就对韩国、赵国和魏国有利。



west to submit to the state of Qin. If Han establishes close ties with Qin, the troops of Qin will turn to attack the state of Wei. Because of Qin's own might and the support of the states of Chu and Han for Qin, even before the two sides engage, people of the state of Wei will turn their horses and head west to submit to the state of Qin. If Wei establishes close ties with Qin, the troops of Qin will attack the state of Zhao. Because of Qin's own might, the support of the states of Han, Wei and Chu for Qin, and the state of Yan's bitterness towards the state of Zhao, Zhao will definitely need to cede a lot of land to Qin. Your state is in much trouble. That's why I have come here. As I said, there are very urgent matters.

"Before the king of the state of Chu enters the state of Qin, the three states—Han, Zhao and Wei can ally with one another and send elite troops to defend the western borders of the states of Han and Wei. When the king of the state of Chu hears that, he will definitely refuse to go to the state of Qin. As a result, the state of Qin will be angered and therefore dispatch troops to attack the state of Chu. Thus Chu will suffer Qin's aggression which will be advantageous to the three states—Han, Zhao and Wei. If the king of Chu goes to the state of Qin, and the king of Qin realizes that Han, Zhao and Wei have built a firm alliance against him, he will definitely not let the king of Chu return to his own state and then force him to cede more land. If this is the case, Chu still cannot avoid Qin's threat. This will also be advantageous to the three states—Han, Zhao and Wei. I hope Your Majesty



【原文】

利于三晋。愿王之熟计之也急！”

赵王因起兵南戍韩、梁之西边。秦见三晋之坚也，果不出楚王（卬）而多求地。

【今译】

希望大王赶快仔细考虑此事。”

赵王就派兵守卫韩国和魏国西部边境。秦国看到这三个国家紧密联合在一起，果然不放楚王回国而索取大量的土地。



immediately meditate on this thoroughly."

The king of Zhao then sent troops to defend the western borders of Han and Wei. The king of Qin realized that Han, Zhao and Wei had built a firm alliance against him. So as expected, he refused to set the king of Chu free but coerced him into ceding more land to Qin.

卷十九 赵 二

苏秦从燕之赵始合从

【原文】

苏秦从燕之赵，始合从，说赵王曰：“天下之卿相人臣，乃至布衣之士，莫不高贤大王之行义，皆愿奉教陈忠于前之日久矣。虽然，奉阳君妒，大王不得任事，是以（外）[宾]客游谈之士，无敢尽忠于前者。今奉阳君捐馆舍，大王乃今然后得与士民相亲，臣故敢献其愚，效愚忠。为大王计，莫若安民无事，请无庸有为也。安民之本，在于择交。择交而得，则民安；择交不得，则民终身不得安。请言外患：齐、秦为两敌，而民

【今译】

苏秦从燕国来到赵国，开始推行合纵的计谋。他游说赵王说：“天下各国的卿、相和大臣，甚至没有任何官职的士人，没有不称许大王推行道义的。很长时间以来，他们都希望能够在大王面前接受教导并且展现自己的忠心。虽然如此，奉阳君忌贤妒能，大王不能掌管国家大事，因此宾客们跟您关系也很疏远，游说的士人也不敢向您效忠。如今奉阳君已经过世了，大王从今以后才可以跟士人百姓相亲近，所以我才敢献上自己的忠心。为大王考虑，最好不过的是让百姓平安无事，奉行无为。让百姓平安无事的根本在于选择合适的盟国。选择的盟国得当，百姓就会平安；选择的盟国不当，百姓就终生不得安宁。请让我谈谈赵国的外患：如果把齐国和秦国这两个国家都作为敌国，百姓就不得





Book 19

The Second Volume on Zhao

Su Qin Started Advocating Hezong After He Left Yan for Zhao

Su Qin started advocating He Zong after he left Yan for Zhao. He went to persuade Zhao's king and said, "From ministers, prime ministers, high-ranking court officials to scholars of no power, people all over the world praise Your Majesty's extensive righteousness. And they have been looking forward to listening to your instructions and serving you with pure loyalty for a long time. Nonetheless, Lord Fengyang was very jealous of wise and capable people, and Your Majesty could not manage government affairs in person. As a result, guests were estranged from you, and persuasive talkers didn't dare to devote their loyalty directly to you. Now Lord Fengyang has passed away. From now on, scholars and the people are able to hobnob with you. And I can also work for you to exhibit my fealty. For Your Majesty, the most important thing is to let the people settle down and don't engage in any warfare. The crucial factor in letting the people settle down is choosing the right alliance. If the right alliance is chosen, the people can settle down and lead peaceful lives. If not, the people cannot settle down during their life time. Please let me explain the problems that might be caused by other states. If you antagonize the states of Qi



【原文】

不得安；倚秦攻齐，而民不得安；倚齐攻秦，而民不得安。故夫谋人之主，伐人之国，常苦出辞断绝人之交，愿大王慎无出于口也。

“请屏左右，（曰）[白]言所以异，阴阳而已矣。大王诚能听臣，燕必致毡裘狗马之地，齐必致海隅渔盐之地，楚必致橘柚云梦之地，韩、魏皆可使致封地汤沐之邑，贵戚父兄皆可以受封侯。夫割地效实，五伯之所以覆军禽将而求也；封侯贵戚，汤、武之所以放杀而争也。今大王垂拱

【今译】

安宁；倚仗秦国进攻齐国，百姓不得安宁；倚仗齐国进攻秦国，百姓不得安宁。所以图谋别国的君主，讨伐别的国家，常常苦于寻找合适的话语劝说别的国家断绝它们已经建立的邦交。希望大王小心谨慎，不要说出这类的话。

“请大王摒退周围的人，让我说明合纵与连横的差异，两者是截然不同的。大王如果真的能听从我的建议，燕国一定会献上盛产毡、裘、狗、马的地区，齐国一定会献上海边盛产鱼、盐的地区，楚国一定会献上盛产柑橘、蜜柚的地区以及云梦泽等地，也可以让韩国和魏国都献上封地和汤沐邑，大王显贵的亲戚和父兄都可以受到赐封。割取土地、聚敛财物是五霸不惜以军队覆灭、将领被擒为代价而追求的；使自己的贵戚封侯是汤和武王之所以流放夏桀、诛杀商纣的原因。如今大王可以不



and Qin at the same time, the people cannot settle down and lead peaceful lives. If we rely on Qin to attack Qi, the people cannot settle down and lead peaceful lives. If we count on Qi to attack Qin, the people cannot settle down and lead peaceful lives. When conspiring against other sovereigns and launching military operations against other states, contemplating the right words to persuade some states to cut ties with their allied states is often difficult. You should be very cautious about such matters and make sure that you never divulge them to others.

"Please send the others away and let me explain the great difference between Hezong and Lianheng to you. If Your Majesty really take my advice, Yan will present you with its land rich in felt and furs and teeming with swift horses and excellent hounds. Qi will present you with coastal areas rich in salt and fish. Chu will present you with land producing oranges and pomeloes, and the Yunmeng Lake. Han and Wei will confer some land on you as Tangmuyi. Accordingly, both your close relatives and your uncles and brothers can be conferred fiefs and noble titles. Obtaining land and collecting its produce used to be the main goal pursued by the Five Lord-protectors. But it cost the complete collapse of their armies and the freedom of their generals. In order to confer some land and honourable titles on their close relatives, Tang of the Shang Dynasty and King Wu of the Zhou Dynasty exiled or killed the Sons of Heaven of their times respectively to fight for authority over the world. Now you can obtain these two kinds of benefit without the slightest effort. That's



【原文】

而两有之，是臣之所以为大王愿也。大王与秦，则秦必弱韩、魏；与齐，则齐必弱楚、魏。魏弱则割河外，韩弱则效宜阳。宜阳效则上郡绝，河外割则道不通。楚弱则无援。此三策者，不可不熟计也。夫秦下轲道则南阳动，劫韩包周则赵自销铄，据卫取淇则齐必入朝。秦欲已得行于山东，则必举甲而向赵。秦甲涉河逾漳，据番吾，则兵必战于邯郸之下矣。此臣之所以为大王患也。

“当今之时，山东之建国莫如赵强。赵地方二千里，带甲数十万，车千乘，骑万匹，粟支十年；西有常山，南有河、漳，东有清河，北有燕国。燕固弱国，不足畏也。且秦之所畏害于天下者莫如赵。然而秦不敢举

【今译】

费吹灰之力得到这两项好处，这也是我希望大王能够得到的。大王跟秦国结盟，秦国一定能削弱韩国和魏国；跟齐国结盟，齐国一定能削弱楚国和魏国。魏国被削弱了，就会割让河外的土地；韩国被削弱了，就会进献宜阳。进献宜阳后，上郡就会被切断；割让河外后，魏国的道路也会被截断；楚国被削弱后，赵国就会孤立无援。这三个计策，不可以不详加考虑。秦国军队从轲道派遣出来后，南阳的防守就会动摇；劫持韩国包围周国，赵国就会被削弱；占领卫国、攻取淇后，齐国一定会到秦国朝拜。秦国在山东地区实现了自己的欲望后，一定会进军攻击赵国。秦国的军队渡过黄河、涉过彰水、占据番吾后，大军必定会逼近邯郸城下开战。这是我为大王所担心的。

“当今时代，山东地区的国家中，没有比赵国更强大的了。赵国的土地方圆两千里，拥有几十万武装的军队、一千辆兵车、一万匹战马，粮食储备可以支撑十年；西边有常山，南边有黄河、漳水，东边有清河，北边有燕国。燕国本来就弱小，不值得畏惧。再说天下各国中秦国最害



what I wish for you. If Your Majesty unite with Qin, Qin will definitely be able to weaken Han and Wei. If you unite with Qi, Qi will definitely be able to weaken Chu and Wei. If Wei is weakened, it will cede Hewai to other states. If Han is weakened, it will give up Yiyang. If Yiyang is given away, Shangjun will be cut off. If Hewai is ceded, Wei's central road will be blocked. If Chu is weakened, we will become isolated and lose all foreign support. These three factors must be taken into serious consideration. If Qin sends its troops from Zhidao, Nanyang will be in danger. If the troops of Qin coerce Han into besieging Zhou with them, Zhao will be severely weakened. If they take over Wei and occupy the area of Qi, the state of Qi will definitely submit to Qin's authority. After all the wishes of Qin are fulfilled in the areas east of Mount Xiao, its troops will approach Zhao. After the troops of Qin cross the Yellow River and the Zhangshui River to seize Fanwu, they will definitely launch military operations against the city of Handan. I worry about this very much for Your Majesty's sake.

"At present, among all the states located east of Mount Xiao, the most powerful one is Zhao. Zhao has two thousand square *li* of land, hundreds of thousands of armed soldiers, one thousand chariots and ten thousand war horses. Its store of grain can support the state for at least ten years. Moreover, it has Mount Chang in the west, the Yellow River and the Zhangshui River in the south, the Qinghe River in the east, and the state of Yan is adjacent to Zhao in the north. Yan is only a small and weak state, so we don't need to



【原文】

兵甲而伐赵者，何也？畏韩、魏之议其后也。然则韩、魏，赵之南蔽也。秦之攻韩、魏也则不然，无有南山大川之限，稍稍蚕食之，傅之国都而止矣。韩、魏不能支秦，必入臣。韩、魏臣于秦，秦无韩、魏之隔，祸中于赵矣。此臣之所以为王患也。

“臣闻尧无三夫之分，舜无咫尺之地，以有天下。禹无百人之聚，以王诸侯。汤、武之卒不过三千人，车不过三百乘，立为天子。诚得其道也。是故明主外料其敌国之强弱，内度其士卒之众寡、贤与不肖，不待两军相当，而胜败存亡之机（节，）固已见于胸中矣，岂掩于众人之言，而以冥冥决事哉！”

【今译】

怕的就是赵国。然而秦国却不敢派兵攻打赵国，为什么呢？因为害怕韩国和魏国在后面伺机图谋它。这样看来，韩国和魏国是赵国南面的屏障。秦国如果进攻韩国和魏国，情况却不是这样的。没有名山大川的阻隔，秦国可以逐渐蚕食它们的领土，直到逼近两国国都。韩国和魏国不能跟秦国抗衡，一定会向秦国臣服，秦国没有韩国和魏国的阻隔，灾祸必定会降临赵国身上了。这是我为大王所担忧的。

“我听说尧不曾有三百亩土地，舜没有咫尺土地，他们却占有了天下。禹不曾有百人的村落，却统一了天下。商汤、周武王的军队不超过三千人，战车不超过三百辆，却被立为天子。他们都掌握了为君之道。所以英明的君主对外能预料敌国的强弱，对内能正确估计自己士卒的众寡、贤能还是无能，不用等到两军对峙，胜败存亡的关键，心中早已明了。难道会被众人的议论蒙蔽而糊里糊涂地作出决定吗！”



worry about it. Thus the only state that Qin fears the most is our state. Nonetheless, Qin doesn't dare send its troops to launch military action against Zhao. Why? Well, it is afraid that the states of Han and Wei will be likely to take advantage of it from the rear. Therefore, Han and Wei serve as Zhao's southern natural barriers. However, things will not be the same if Qin attacks Han and Wei. Since these two states don't have big mountains or huge rivers to protect them, Qin can encroach upon them step by step and easily approach their capitals. Han and Wei are not able to counteract Qin, so they will definitely submit to Qin. There are no states like Han and Wei to serve as barriers to obstruct the troops of Qin, so our state will certainly be in danger. That's what I worry about on behalf of Your Majesty.

"I heard that Yao had less than three hundred *mu* of land and Shun had no land at all. However, later they both possessed the whole world. Yu didn't own a village with one hundred people, but he unified all the states and became King. With no more than three thousand soldiers and less than three hundred chariots, both Tang of the Shang Dynasty and King Wu of the Zhou Dynasty became Sons of Heaven. These aforementioned people had employed the right tactics. Therefore, a wise sovereign can foresee the real strength of an enemy state and also estimate the real condition of his own military forces. He will forecast the result of a war even before the troops of both sides start to confront each other. Why listen to the arguments of ordinary people and leave everything to chance?



【原文】

“臣窃以天下地图案之。诸侯之地五倍于秦，料诸侯之卒十倍于秦。六国并力为一，西面而攻秦，秦破必矣。今见破于秦，西面而事之，见臣于秦。夫破人之与破于人也，臣人之与臣于人也，岂可同日而言之哉？夫横人者，皆欲割诸侯之地以与秦成。与秦成，则高台[榭]，美宫室，听竽瑟之音，察五味之和，前有轩轅，后有长庭，美人巧笑。卒有秦患，而不与其忧。是故横人(曰)[日]夜务以秦权恐猲诸侯，以求割地。愿大王之熟计之也。

“臣闻明王绝疑去谗，屏流言之迹，塞朋党之门，故尊主广地强兵之

【今译】

“我私下查看天下的地图，各诸侯国的土地总和是秦国的五倍，推想各国兵力的总和，是秦国的十倍。六国齐心协力，向西攻打秦国，秦国一定会被击败。如今却被秦国击破，向西侍奉秦国，对它称臣。击破别国与被别国击破，让别人臣服自己与自己臣服别人，怎么可以同日而语呢？主张连横的人都想割让各诸侯国的土地给秦国，跟它交好。与秦国交好，他们就可以修筑高高的台榭，修建华美的宫室，欣赏用竽瑟等乐器演奏的美妙音乐，品尝各种美味，前面有车舆，后面有美女，以及美女娇好的笑容，最终当秦国突然发动进攻时，却不跟这些国家共同分担忧虑。所以主张连横的人日日夜夜拿秦国的强权恐吓各国，来求得让它们割让自己的土地。希望大王仔细考虑这个情况啊。

“我听说英明的君主拒绝可疑之人，排除谗邪之人，抵制流言蜚语，



"I have secretly checked a map of the world and according to it, the territory of all other states summed up is five times larger than that of the state of Qin. I estimate that the total number of the troops of all the other states might be ten times higher than that of the troops of the state of Qin. If the Six States make a concerted effort to launch military action against Qin, Qin will surely be defeated. However, they have been defeated by Qin and ready to submit to its authority. Defeating other states and being defeated by other states, making other states submit to your authority and submitting to others' authority are totally different from each other. Those who advocate Lianheng all want to make other states cede their territory to Qin so that they themselves can establish diplomatic relations with Qin. If they have good relations with Qin, they can have lofty platforms, pavilions and luxurious buildings built for themselves. They can also entertain themselves with beautiful tunes played by Yu, Se and other musical instruments and enjoy all kinds of delicious food. Moreover, whenever they go out, they can travel in well decorated carriages accompanied by pretty women with beautiful and attractive smile on their lovely faces. When other states are attacked by the troops of Qin suddenly, they will never shoulder the danger from them. Therefore, in order to obtain more land for Qin, people advocating Lian Heng are busy terrifying other states night and day with the might and power of the state of Qin. Please think about this thoroughly, Your Majesty.

"I heard that a wise sovereign will rid himself of dubious



【原文】

计，臣得陈忠于前矣。故窃为大王计，莫如一韩、魏、齐、楚、燕、赵，六国从亲以倂畔秦。令天下之将相相与会于洹水之上，通质刑白马以盟之。约曰：秦攻楚，齐、魏各出锐师以佐之，韩绝食道，赵涉河漳，燕守常山之北。秦攻韩、魏，则楚绝其后，齐出锐师以佐之，赵涉河漳，燕守云中。秦攻齐，则楚绝其后，韩守成皋，魏塞午道，赵涉河漳、博关，燕出锐师以佐之。秦攻燕，则赵守常山，楚军武关，齐涉（渤海）〔清河〕，韩、魏出锐

【今译】

杜绝结党营私，所以能使得君权尊威，领土扩充，兵力强盛，臣子们也能够面前效忠。所以我私下里为大王打算，不如联合韩国、魏国、齐国、楚国、燕国和赵国，一同来对抗秦国。命令天下各国的将相一起在洹水岸边相会，互通人质，并宰杀白马血祭，来订立盟约。相约道：‘假如秦国进攻楚国，齐国和魏国各自派出精锐部队援助楚国，韩军切断秦军运送粮草的道路，赵军涉过黄河和漳水抵御秦军，燕军守卫常山以北的地区。假如秦国进攻韩国和魏国，楚军就截断秦军的后路，齐国派出精锐部队支援，赵军涉过黄河和漳水，燕军守住云中。假如秦国进攻齐国，楚军就截断秦军的后路，韩军守住成皋，魏军切断午道，赵军涉过黄河、漳水，直指博关，燕国派出精锐部队援助。假如秦国进攻燕国，赵军就



and toady people, stop rumours and put an end to all factions. Thus his power will be well established, his territory will be enlarged and his military force will be strengthened. Moreover, his court officials will work for him whole-heartedly to show their fealty. So according to my personal opinion, I think the best thing for Your Majesty to do is to unite with the states of Han, Wei, Qi, Chu, Yan and Zhao to counteract the state of Qin. You can order the Commanders-in-Chief and prime ministers of all the states to have a meeting on the bank of the Huanshui River, and ask them to exchange hostages. A white horse can be killed for a bloody sacrifice to seal an agreement. It states in the agreement as follows: 'If the troops of Qin attack Chu, Qi and Wei should send their picked warriors to help Chu. Han should cut off the enemy troops' access to their supplies. Zhao should dispatch its troops to cross the Yellow River and the Zhangshui River. And Yan should safeguard the area north of Mount Chang. If the troops of Qin attack Han and Wei, Chu should cut off their route of retreat. Qi should send its picked warriors to help Han and Wei. Zhao should dispatch its troops to cross the Yellow River and the Zhangshui River as well as pass through the area of Boguan. And Yan should safeguard Yunzhong. If the troops of Qin attack Qi, Chu should cut off their route of retreat. Han should defend Chenggao. Wei should block off Wudao. Zhao should dispatch its troops to cross the Yellow River and the Zhangshui River to approach Boguan. And Yan should send picked warriors to help Qi. If the troops of Qin attack Yan,



【原文】

师以佐之。秦攻赵，则韩军宜阳，楚军武关，魏军河外，齐涉（渤海）[清河]，燕出锐师以佐之。诸侯有先背约者，五国共伐之。六国从亲以摈秦，秦必不敢出兵于函谷关以害山东矣。如是，则伯业成矣！”

赵王曰：“寡人年少，莅国之日浅，未尝得闻社稷之长计。今上客有意存天下，安诸侯，寡人敬以国从。”乃封苏秦为武安君，饰车百乘，黄金千镒，白璧百双，锦绣千纯，以约诸侯。

【今译】

守住常山，楚军进驻武关，齐军涉过清河，韩国和魏国派出精锐部队援助。假如秦国进攻赵国，韩军就进驻宜阳，楚军进驻武关，魏军进驻河外，齐军涉过清河，燕国派出精锐部队支援。各诸侯国中有率先背弃盟约的，其他五个国家一起攻打它。’六国联合起来对抗秦国，秦国一定不敢从函谷关派遣军队入侵山东地区的国家了。这样一来就可以成就霸业了。”

赵王说：“我年轻，在位的时间短，还不知道治理国家的大计。如今您有意保全天下各国、巩固诸侯王的地位，我带领我的国家听候安排。”于是封苏秦为武安君，赏赐给他一百辆装饰华美的车子、一千镒黄金、一百双白玉、一千纯精美的丝绸，与其他诸侯缔结合纵盟约。

秦攻赵

【原文】

秦攻赵，苏子为谓秦王曰：“臣闻明王之于其民也，博论而技艺之，

【今译】

秦国进攻赵国，苏子为赵国对秦王说：“我听说，英明的君主对于他



Zhao should safeguard Mount Chang. Chu should station its troops in Wuguan. Qi should dispatch its troops to cross the Qinghe River. And Han and Wei should send picked warriors to help Yan. If the troops of Qin attack Zhao, Han should station its troops in Yiyang. Chu should station its troops in Wuguan, and Wei in Hewai. Qi should dispatch its troops to cross the Qinghe River. And Yan should send picked warriors to help. If one state breaks faith with the others and acts against the agreement, the other five states will attack it together.' Thus if the Six States unite with each other to counteract Qin, Qin will definitely not dare send its troops from the Hangu Valley to attack those states located east of Mount Xiao. Accordingly, you can establish the most powerful state and become Lord-protector."

The king of Zhao said, "I am a fledgling, having just taken over the regime and therefore not having the chance to learn the most important long-term policies for governing a state. Now you, our honoured guest, are going to safeguard all the states of the world and consolidate the authority of all the sovereigns. I will lead my state to follow your directions." He then proclaimed Su Qin Lord Wu'an, presented him with one hundred well decorated carriages, one thousand *yi* of gold, one hundred pairs of white jade, one hundred *chun* of fine silk and sent him to unite with other states to take concerted action against the state of Qin.

Qin Attacked Zhao

The troops of the state of Qin attacked the state of Zhao.



【原文】

是故官无乏事而力不困；于其言也，多听而时用之，是故事无败业而恶不章。臣愿王察臣之所谒，而效之于一时之用也。臣闻怀重宝者不以夜行，任大功者不以轻敌。是以贤者任重而行恭，知者功大而辞顺。故民不恶其尊，而世不妒其业。臣闻之：‘百倍之国者，民不乐后也；功业高世者，人主不再行也；力尽之民，仁者不用也；求得而反静，圣主之制也；功大而息民，用兵之道也。’今用兵终身不休，力尽不罢，赵怒必于其

【今译】

的臣民，全面评定他们的技能并据此授予他们职位，因此官员们不会敷衍了事，而且无休止地为国效力；对于他们的建议，广泛听取并且时时采纳，因此事业不会失败，而且没有恶行表现出来。我希望大王能明察我所说的话，并检验它现时的效用。我听说怀抱着贵重宝贝的人不可以走夜路，承担重大责任的人不可以轻敌。因此贤明的人责任重大而且行事谦恭，智慧的人功劳巨大而且言辞恭顺。所以人们不讨厌他们的尊贵，世人也不妒忌他们的功业。我听说：‘土地扩大了一百倍的国家，百姓不愿继续为扩充领土而发动战争；功高盖世的君主不再采取其他行动；筋疲力尽的百姓，仁爱的人不会继续调用他们。所追求的目标实现了就反归于宁静，是圣明的君主的准则；建立了大的战功就让民众休养，是用兵的法则。’如今终生用兵，没有止息，筋疲力尽了也不罢休，



Suzi had a talk with the king of the state of Qin and said, "I heard that a wise sovereign will judge his subjects thoroughly and then appoint them suitable posts according to his subjects' talents. Hence, all the officials will perform their duties diligently. He will also listen to their opinions and often take their advice. Hence, all his undertakings will succeed and no error will take place. I hope that Your Majesty will think about what I am going to say and prove whether it is useful in our time. I heard that people carrying extremely valuable treasures won't travel during the night, and people shouldering extremely important tasks won't underestimate their enemies. Therefore, worthy people shoulder important tasks and behave very humbly. Wise people make great contributions and always watch their words to make sure that their comments are acceptable to others. Thus the people are not critical about their power or jealous of their achievements. I heard that if a state has enlarged its territory by one hundred times, its people won't willingly take military action again to invade other states. After a sovereign has made extremely great contributions, he will no longer declare war against other states. If the people are exhausted, a benevolent person won't allocate them more tasks. Remaining tranquil after fulfilling all the wishes is a sage sovereign's way of doing things. Letting officers and men rest after winning a great victory is the correct military strategy. Now you have been taking continuous military action during your lifetime, and won't let your people take a rest even though they are exhausted. Because you are angry



【原文】

己邑，赵仅存哉！然而四（轮）[输]之国也，今虽得邯郸，非国之长利也。意者，地广而不耕，民羸而不休，又严之以刑罚，则虽从而不止矣。语曰：‘战胜而国危者，物不断也。功大而权轻者，地不入也。’故过任之事，父不得于子；无己之求，君不得于臣。故微之为著者强，察乎息民之为用者伯，明乎轻之为重者王。”

秦王曰：“寡人案兵息民，则天下必为从，将以逆秦。”

苏子曰：“臣有以知天下之不能为从以逆秦也。臣以田单、如耳为大过也。岂独田单、如耳为大过哉？天下之主亦尽过矣！夫虑收亡齐、

【今译】

对赵国感到愤慨，一定要占领它作为自己的城邑，赵国仅仅能勉强存在而已。然而赵国是个四通八达的国家。如今虽然占领了邯郸，也并非秦国的长久利益。我推测，土地扩展了却没有开垦，百姓疲惫而得不到休养，又采取严酷的刑罚统治他们，那他们即使服从了，也不能安居乐业。俗话说：‘在战争中取得胜利而国家陷入危机，是因为战事不断的缘故。战功巨大而权力减少，是因为不能真正将侵占的土地据为己有的缘故。’所以，力所不及的事情，父亲不能要求儿子做到；无穷无尽的贪求，君主不能从臣下那里得到满足。所以，看见事物的征兆就能预见它们的发展的会强大，明察休养民众的用处的能够称霸，明白轻可以转变为重的能够称王。”

秦王说：“如果我按兵不动、休养民众，那天下各国必定会联合起来对抗我秦国。”

苏子说：“我知道天下各国不能联合起来对抗秦国是有根据的。我认为田单和如耳错得太厉害了。不仅仅是田单和如耳错得厉害，天下



with the state of Zhao, you want to seize its territory and make its cities and towns your own. The state of Zhao can barely survive. However, Zhao is a state with roads connecting with other states in all directions. Although you might occupy Handan right away, it won't prove a long-term benefit to your state. If you don't turn the areas you have occupied into arable lands and don't let the exhausted people rest but resort to ruthless measures to govern them, they won't settle although they might submit to you superficially. There is a saying: 'A state might still be in danger after winning victories because it cannot stop attacking other states. A person might still be powerless after making great contributions because he cannot fully control the land he has occupied.' Hence, a father cannot overly demand his son to do things beyond his limits. And a sovereign cannot coerce his court officials into fulfilling his endless desires. So, those who know which insignificant signs might become significant can become powerful. Whoever realizes that it is useful to let people rest can establish a most powerful state and become Lord-protector. Whoever knows that minor things might become important can unify the whole world and become King."

The king of the state of Qin said, "If I stop military action and let the people rest, surely other states in the world will ally with one another to confront my state."

Suzi said, "I am sure that other states in the world will not ally with one another to act against the state of Qin. I think Tian Dan and Ru Er are extremely wrong. Not only



【原文】

罢楚、敝魏与不可知之赵，欲以穷秦折韩，臣以为至愚也。夫齐威、宣，世之贤主也，德博而地广，国富而用民，将武而兵强。宣王用之，后富韩威魏，以南伐楚，西攻秦。为齐兵困于殽塞之上，十年攘地，秦人远迹不服，而齐为虚戾。夫齐兵之所以破，韩、魏之所以仅存者，何也？是则伐楚攻秦而后受其殃也。今富非有齐威、宣之余也，精兵非有富韩劲魏之库也，而将非有田单、司马之虑也，收破齐、罢楚、弊魏、不可知之赵，欲

【今译】

各国的君主都错了。想联合破败的赵国、疲惫的楚国和困顿的魏国以及前途未卜的赵国来让秦国陷入困厄、挫败韩国，我认为这是非常愚蠢的。齐威王和齐宣王是世间贤明的君主，德行博大，国土广阔，国家富裕，人民听从调遣，将领勇武，兵力强大。宣王用他们来胁迫韩国、威逼魏国，向南攻打楚国，向西进攻秦国。秦军被齐国军队围困在崤塞，十年间侵夺秦国的土地，秦国人住地遥远、内心不服，而齐国田地荒芜、人烟灭绝。齐国军队被击破，韩国和魏国勉强幸存，是什么原因呢？是因为它们讨伐楚国、进攻秦国，随后反遭到它们的侵略。如今论富足比不上齐威王和齐宣王，精锐部队也没有能威逼韩国、壮大魏国的实力，将领也比不上田单和司马足智多谋，却要联合破败的齐国、疲惫的楚国、



these two but also all other sovereigns in the world are totally wrong. They are planning to ally with the ruined Qi, the exhausted Chu, the tired Wei and the unreliable Zhao to make trouble for the state of Qin and defeat the state of Han. I think they couldn't be more stupid. King Wei and King Xuan of the state of Qi used to be very worthy sovereigns of the world. Under their leadership, their virtues were extolled and their territory were enlarged. Their state was enriched and their people were efficiently employed. Their army leaders were valiant and their military forces were formidable. King Xuan commanded his troops to coerce the states of Han and Wei into joining him in invading the state of Chu in the south and attacking the state of Qin in the west. The troops of Qin were besieged by the troops of Qi in the fortification on Mount Xiao. During the following ten years, Qi kept on seizing land from Qin. Living in a state far from the state of Qi, the people of the state of Qin didn't wholeheartedly submit to Qi. The fields in the state of Qi were neglected. Why did the troops of Qi suffer a debacle and both the state of Han and the state of Wei barely survive? Because they invaded the state of Qin and attacked the state of Chu, and as a result, they caused themselves trouble in return. Now other states are not as rich as the state of Qi was when it was ruled by King Wei and King Xuan. The might of their elite troops cannot match those of King Wei and King Xuan, who were able to threaten the state of Han and strengthen the state of Wei. Their generals are not as intelligent as Tian Dan and Sima. However, they are planning to ally with the ruined Qi,



【原文】

以穷秦折韩，臣以为至误。臣以从一不可成也。客有难者，今臣有患于世。夫刑名之家皆曰‘白马非马也已’，如白马实马，乃使有白马之为也。此臣之所患也。

“昔者，秦人下兵攻怀，服其人，三国从之。赵奢、鲍佞将，楚有四人起而从之。临怀而不救，秦人去而不从。不识三国之憎秦而爱怀邪？忘其憎怀而爱秦邪？夫攻而不救，去而不从，是以三国之兵困，而赵奢、鲍佞之能也。故裂地以（败）[效]于（齐）[秦]。田单将齐之良，以兵横行于中十四年，终身不敢设兵以攻秦折韩也，而驰于封内。不识从之一成恶存也。”于是秦王解兵，不出于境。诸侯休，天下安，二十九年不相攻。

【今译】

困顿的魏国和前途未卜的赵国，想以此让秦国陷入困境、挫败韩国，我认为这是极端错误的。我认为合纵是不可能成功的。客人有责难我的，如今我对世事颇有忧虑。刑名派的人都说‘白马非马’，但是白马实际上就是马。这是我所担忧的。

“从前，秦国派军队进攻怀，征服了那里的百姓，赵国、齐国和楚国前往营救。赵奢和鲍佞为将领，楚国人从四面八方赶来救援。他们到达了怀却不尽心营救，秦国退兵了也不追赶。不知道这三个国家是憎恨秦国、喜爱怀呢，还是憎恨怀、喜爱秦国？秦军进攻，它们不营救，秦军撤退，它们不追击，因此知道它们的军队会陷入困顿，而且赵奢和鲍佞很无能。所以割裂土地奉献给秦国。田单率领齐国的精良士卒，在国内横行十四年，终生不敢派兵进攻秦国、挫败韩国，而只是在自己的封地上耍威风。看不出合纵怎么会成功。”于是秦王放松了战备，不派军队出境。各国君主休兵，天下安定，二十九年不互相攻伐。



the exhausted Chu, the tired Wei and the unreliable Zhao to cause trouble for the state of Qin and defeat the state of Han. I think they are totally wrong. I don't think they can perform the tactics of Hezong successfully. Some guests may disagree with me. Now I am facing a problem. People advocating Xing and Ming all declare that a white horse is not a horse. A white horse is indeed a horse. This is the problem I am worrying about.

"Previously, the troops of Qin attacked Huai and conquered the people there. The troops of the three states—Zhao, Qi and Chu came to Huai's rescue. Zhao She and Bao Ning were the generals of the allied forces. People all over the state of Chu joined them. However, they didn't take any action to rescue Huai after they arrived there. Nor did they chase and attack the rear of the troops of Qin when they retreated. I don't know whether these three states were for Huai and against Qin, or for Qin and against Huai? When Huai was under attack, they didn't rescue it. When the troops of Qin retreated, they didn't chase and attack them. Zhao She and Bao Ning were incapable, so the allied forces of these three states were in trouble. Therefore, they had to cede land to Qin. Tian Dan had successfully commanded the elite troops of Qi for fourteen years within the state of Qi. However, he dare not send his troops to invade Qin or attack Han. What he did do was just manifesting his power inside the state of Qi. I cannot find any factors leading to the success of Hezong anyway." Then the king of Qin disarmed his troops and forbade them to march over the border. Other



张仪为秦连横说赵王

【原文】

张仪为秦连横，说赵王曰：“弊邑秦王使臣敢献书于大王御史。大王收率天下以侯秦，秦兵不敢出函谷关十五年矣。大王之威，行于天下山东。弊邑恐惧慑伏，缮甲厉兵，饰车骑，习驰射，力田积粟，守四封之内，愁居慑处，不敢动摇，唯大王有意督过之也。今秦以大王之力，西举巴蜀，并汉中，东收两周而西迁九鼎，守白马之津。秦虽辟远，然而心忿悁含怒之日久矣。今（宣）[寡]君有（微）[敝]甲钝兵，军于渑池，愿渡河

【今译】

张仪为秦国推行连横的计策，游说赵惠文王说：“鄙邑秦王派我前来斗胆献上一封书信给大王的御史。大王率领天下各国诸侯对抗秦国，秦国的军队不敢出函谷关已经有十五年了。大王的威势在山东各国非常盛行。我们秦国恐惧慑伏，修缮铠甲、磨砺兵器，修整战车、训练战马，练习骑马射箭，努力耕田，积蓄粮食，守卫四境之内的领土，处在担忧恐惧之中，不敢轻举妄动，唯恐大王有责备我们的意思。如今秦国凭借大王的威力，向西攻克巴、蜀，兼并汉中，向东占领两周的土地，并且把九只大鼎运送到了西方，扼守白马渡口。秦国虽然地处偏远，然而内心充满愤怒已经有很长时间了。现在我们的国君只有破旧的铠甲和



states' sovereigns felt relieved. The whole world was at peace. And there had been no war for twenty nine years.

Zhang Yi Advocated Lianheng for Qin

Zhang Yi advocated Lianheng for the state of Qin. He went to persuade the king of the state of Zhao and said, "The king of our state sent me here to present his letter to Your Majesty's ministers. Your Majesty has united with all other states in the world to counteract Qin. As a result, Qin has not dared send its troops from the Hangu Valley for fifteen years. The power of Your Majesty prevails across all the areas east of Mount Xiao. Our state has been terrified. We have maintained our armour, sharpened our weapons, prepared our chariots and war horses, trained our troops for riding and shooting, worked hard to grow crops and store grain, and safeguarded our territory's borders on all four sides. We fear your might and worry about the situation. However, we dare not take military action without due regard, because we are afraid that Your Majesty might scold us for our wrong deeds. Recently, through the might of Your Majesty, our state has conquered Ba and Shu and annexed Hanzhong in the west. We have taken over the territory of the Eastern Zhou and the Western Zhou, and ordered Zhou to transport the Nine Cauldrons westwards to Qin. We have also occupied the White Horse Ferry. Even though our state is located distantly, it has been outraged for a long time. Now our sovereign has some worn armour and blunt



【原文】

逾漳，据番吾，迎战邯郸之下。愿以甲子之日合战，以正殷纣之事。敬使臣先以闻于左右。

“凡大王之所信以为从者，恃苏秦之计，荧惑诸侯，以是为非，以非为是，欲反覆齐国而不能，自令车裂于齐之市。夫天下之不可一亦明矣。今楚与秦为昆弟之国，而韩、魏称为东藩之臣，齐献鱼盐之地，此断赵之右臂也。夫断右臂而求与人斗，失其党而孤居，求欲无危，岂可得哉？今秦发三将军，一军塞午道，告齐使兴师度清河，军于邯郸之东；一军军于成皋，斂韩、魏而军于河外；一军军于浞池。约曰：四国为一以攻

【今译】

并不精良的武器，军队驻扎在浞池，要渡过黄河和漳水，占据番吾，在邯郸城下迎战大王的军队。希望能在甲子日交战，来效仿武王伐纣的事迹。谨派我前来敬告大王。”

“大王所相信并奉行的合纵是倚仗苏秦的计策。苏秦蛊惑各国诸侯，颠倒是非，想颠覆齐国而没有成功，却使得自己在闹市上被车裂的酷刑处死。天下各国不能统一行动，是很明显的。如今楚国和秦国成为兄弟国，韩国和魏国自称是秦国东部的属国，齐国进献盛产鱼盐的地区，这就切断了赵国的右臂。如果右臂断了还想跟别人决斗，失掉了盟国而孤立无援，还希望没有危机，怎么可能呢？如今秦国派三位大将率军出战，第一支军队切断午道，让齐国派兵渡过清河，驻扎在邯郸以东；第二支军队进驻成皋，驱遣韩国和魏国的军队，让他们驻扎在河外；第三支军队驻扎在浞池。互相订立盟约：‘四个国家联合起来进攻赵国，



weapons. He has stationed his troops in Mianchi and would like to send troops to cross the Yellow River and the Zhangshui River to occupy Fanwu and confront your troops in Handan. We'd like to launch the attack on the day of Jia Zi to follow in the footsteps of King Wu attacking Zhou of the Shang Dynasty. So our sovereign sent me here to inform the people around Your Majesty with respect.

"Your Majesty trust Hezong and practice it because you count on Su Qin's tactics. Su Qin planned to delude other states' sovereigns and confuse right for wrong in order to overthrow the state of Qi but failed to do so. As a result, he was executed by the Chelie Penalty in public by the king of Qi. Hence, it is crystal-clear that the states of the world cannot be unified. Now Chu and Qin have become brother states. Han and Wei have submitted to Qin and pronounced themselves as Qin's dependencies in the east. And Qi has contributed some land rich in fish and salt to Qin. Thus we have cut off 'the right arm' of your state. Challenging others after losing the right arm and being isolated due to losing the support of all other allied states, isn't your state in danger? Qin can send three armies. The first army will blockade Wudao and we will also tell Qi to dispatch its troops to cross the Qinghe River and deploy east of the city of Handan. The second army will be stationed in Chenggao and we will also order the troops of Han and Wei to deploy in Hewai. The third army will be stationed in Mianchi. Then we will make an agreement with the other three states as follows: 'The troops of our four states will launch concerted military action



【原文】

赵，破赵而四分其地。是故不敢匿意隐情，先以闻于左右。臣切为大王计，莫如与秦遇于渑池，面相见而身相结也。臣请案兵无攻，愿大王之定计。”

赵王曰：“先王之时，奉阳君相，专权擅势，蔽晦先王，独制官事。寡人宫居，属于师傅，不得与国谋。先生弃群臣，寡人年少，奉祠祭之日浅，私心固窃疑焉，以为一从不事秦，非国之长利也。乃且愿变心易虑，剖地谢前过以事秦。方将约车趋行，而适闻使者之明诏。”于是乃以车三百乘入朝渑池，割河间以事秦。

【今译】

击破赵国，四家平分它的土地。’所以我们不敢隐藏自己的意图和实情，先告诉大王身边的人。我私下为大王考虑，不如跟秦王在渑池会晤，互相见面，亲自结盟。我请求秦王按兵不动，希望大王作出决定。”

赵王说：“先王在位的时候，奉阳君做相国，把持朝廷大权，蒙蔽先王，独自掌管国家大事。我那时住在宫中，凡事听凭师傅吩咐，不能参与谋划国家大事。先王过世后，我太年轻，在位时间短，本来私下里就对合纵持怀疑态度，认为一味合纵、不侍奉秦国，不是国家的长久利益。于是就想改变心意和计划，割让土地给秦国，来表达对以前的错误做法的歉意。刚要备车出发，恰好就听到您英明的见教。”于是就派出三百辆车子到渑池朝拜秦王，割让河间地区的土地来侍奉秦国。

武灵王平昼间居

【原文】

武灵王平昼间居，肥义侍坐，曰：“王虑世事之变，权甲兵之用，念

【今译】

赵武灵王一个白天闲来无事，肥义在旁边陪他坐着，说：“大王考虑



against Zhao. We can conquer Zhao and share its territory. ' We don't dare keep this secret, so I am here to inform the people around you first. I personally think it would be better if Your Majesty visit the king of Qin in person in Mianchi and make an agreement with him face to face. Then I will persuade our sovereign not to send our troops to attack Zhao. Please make a decision, Your Majesty. "

The king of Zhao said, "When our deceased sovereign was in power, Lord Fengyang was the prime Minister. He took firm control over the regime, hoodwinked our former sovereign and handled all the government affairs by himself. At that time, I was living in the palace but under the supervision of my tutor and could not take part in making important plans. Now our former sovereign has passed away. I am a fledgling and have only taken over the regime for a short time. Personally I do have doubts about the tactics of Hezong. I don't think it is not of long-term interest for our state to practice Hezong blindly and therefore not serve the state of Qin. I was thinking of changing our minds and ceding some land to Qin to express our sorry for our previous wrong conduct. Shortly before I heard your wise instructions, I was going to have carriages prepared to send my emissaries to visit your state." So he went with three hundred carriages to Mianchi to show his obedience to Qin's king and ceded Hejian to Qin.

One Day, King Wuling of Zhao Was at Leisure

One day, King Wuling of Zhao was at leisure and Fei Yi



【原文】

简、襄之迹，计胡、狄之利乎？”王曰：“嗣立不忘先德，君之道也；错质务明主之长，臣之论也。是以贤君静而有道民便事之教，动有明古先世之功。为人臣者，穷有弟长辞让之节，通有补民益主之业。此两者，君臣之分也。今吾欲继襄主之业，启胡、翟之乡，而卒世不见也。敌弱者，用力少而功多，可以无尽百姓之劳，而享往古之勋。夫有高世之功者，必

【今译】

世事的变化，谋划用兵的计策，怀想先王简子和襄子的功绩，图谋胡、狄地区的利益吗？”赵武灵王说：“即位后不忘记先王的功德，是为君之道。委身侍奉君主，务必要彰明君主的长处，是为臣之道。因此贤明的君主在和平时期要有熏陶百姓、裨益于政事的政教，用兵作战的时候就要发扬光大先王的功业。作为人臣的，仕途困顿时要有尊长谦让的节操，仕途显达时要有方便百姓、帮助君主的业绩。这两者是君主和臣子的本分。如今我想继承襄子的功业，启蒙胡人和狄人的地区，这是举世没有目睹过的业绩。敌人软弱，花费的力气少而取得的功劳多，无需把百姓弄得筋疲力尽，就能享有跟古代君主一样的功勋。有盖世功劳的人必



was accompanying him. Fei Yi said, "Your Majesty, do you take the ever-changing world situation into serious consideration, weigh up the tactics, review the past accomplishments of our deceased sovereigns—Jianzi and Xiangzi, and conspire for the benefit of the areas of the Hu and Di peoples?" The king said, "The new sovereign should never forget the benevolence of the previous sovereigns. This is a fixed rule for any sovereign. Being concerned with extending the strong points of their sovereign is the most important role played by the court officials. Therefore, a wise and capable sovereign can extend moral education among the people and facilitate state affairs in peaceful times. And whenever he takes military action, he should be able to carry forward the contributions of his predecessors. As for court officials, they should respect their elder brothers, take care of the younger ones and be humble towards others before they start working for the government and become powerful. After they are employed by the government and appointed to powerful positions, they should benefit the people and help their sovereign accomplish great achievements. These are the duties of the sovereign and court officials. Now I want to carry forward the achievements of our former sovereign—Xiangzi, and enlighten the people of the Hu and Di areas. People all over the world have not yet witnessed such great conduct. If our enemy is weak, we can easily make more contributions with less effort. Thus we won't need to exhaust the ordinary people, but will become as meritorious as our forefathers used to be. Those with extremely



【原文】

负遗俗之累；有独知之虑者，必被庶人之（恐）[怨]。今吾将胡服骑射以教百姓，而世必议寡人矣。”

肥义曰：“臣闻之：‘疑事无功，疑行无名。’今王即定负遗俗之虑，殆毋顾天下之议矣。夫论至德者不和于俗，成大功者不谋于众。昔舜舞有苗，而禹袒入裸国，非以养欲而乐志也，欲以论德而要功也。愚者闇于成事，智者见于未萌，王其遂行之。”王曰：“寡人非疑胡服也，吾恐天下笑之。狂夫之乐，知者哀焉；愚者之笑，贤者戚焉。世有顺我者，则胡

【今译】

然会遭到脱离世俗的指摘，有独到见解的人一定会受到普通人的怨恨。如今我将要穿胡地的衣服，练习骑马射箭并且教导百姓也这么做，而世人一定会非议我的举动的。”

肥义说：“我听说：‘怀疑自己要做的事就不能成功，怀疑自己的行动就不能成名。’如今大王既然已经有了这种脱离世俗的想法，就不需要顾及天下人的议论了。探讨最高的道德的人不合乎世俗，成就大事的人不跟普通人商讨谋划。从前，舜学三苗的习俗跳舞，禹赤身裸体进入裸民国，他们这么做并不是为了满足欲望、娱乐心性，而是想探讨德行、争取功名。愚蠢的人对于既成事实也弄不明白，智慧的人在事情没有发生之前就能作出准确判断，大王您就按照自己的想法去做吧。”赵武灵王说：“我并不是对穿胡地的衣服怀有疑虑，我害怕天下人笑话我。疯子感到有趣的事情，智者会感到悲哀；愚蠢的人感到好笑的事情，贤能的人会感到悲伤。如果世人同意我的做法，那穿胡地衣服的功劳就



outstanding contributions are very likely to be rebuked by mundane people. Those with strong opinions are very likely to be resented by ordinary people. Now I am going to wear the clothes of the Hu people, ask the people to follow me and teach them riding and shooting, even if the people reproach me."

Fei Yi said, "I heard that if one doubts his undertaking, he will not succeed. If one doubts his behaviour, he will not gain a high reputation. Now that you have made up your mind to enact something unusual, you should overlook the censure of others. People engaged in studying perfect virtue will not comply with custom. People able to achieve great success will not ask ordinary people for instructions. Previously, Shun performed a dance according to the rite of the Miao people, and Yu entered the territory of the Luomin people (literally meaning people not wearing any clothes) with no clothes on. They didn't act that way to entertain themselves. They did so to manifest their virtue and make great contributions to their kingdoms. Silly people don't understand accomplished facts. Wise people can foresee how a situation will develop. You can do that according to your own will." The king said, "It is not that I doubt the function of the Hu people's clothes. I am afraid that people all over the world might deride me. What makes maniacs happy will make the wise feel sad. What makes stupid people laugh will make the sensible feel sad. If there are some people carrying out my orders, the contribution of wearing the Hu people's clothes will become unexpectably great. Although I might be derided by people



【原文】

服之功，未可知也。虽馘世以笑我，胡地中山吾必有之。”

王遂胡服。使王孙继告公子成曰：“寡人胡服，且将以朝，亦欲叔之服之也。家听于亲，国听于君，古今之公行也；子不反亲，臣不逆主，先王之通谊也。今寡人作教易服而叔不服，吾恐天下议之也。夫制国有常，而利民为本；从政有经，而令行为上。故明德在于论贱，行政在于信贵。今胡服之意，非以养欲而乐志也。事有所出，功有所止。事成功立，然后德且见也。今寡人恐叔逆从政之经，以辅公叔之议。且寡人闻

【今译】

是不可估量的。即使全世界的人都笑话我，我也一定要占有胡国和中山国的土地。”

于是赵武灵王就穿起了胡地的衣服。他派王孙继告诉公子成说：“我要穿着胡地的衣服上朝，也想让叔叔您穿胡地的衣服。一个家庭要听从父亲，一个国家要听从国君，这是从古到今的行为准则；做儿子的不违背父亲的意愿，做臣子的不违背国君的旨意，这是祖宗流传下来的通行的规矩。如今我下令改穿胡人的服饰而如果叔叔不穿，我担心天下人会议论这件事。治理国家有既定的准则，而以为百姓谋福利为根本；处理政事有既定的纲领，而以命令能够贯彻执行为上策。因此彰明德政在于考虑百姓的利益，施政在于让有权有势的人守信。如今我穿胡地衣服的意思并非为了满足欲望或娱乐心性。这么做事情是有原因的，而且一定会有功绩。等到事情做成、功劳确立了，那时候就会显出我的德政了。现在我担心叔叔违背我的施政方针，来支持朝中大族



all over the world, I will definitely take over the land of the Hu people and the state of Zhongshan."

The king then dressed himself up in the Hu people's clothes. He sent Wangsun Xie to inform Childe Cheng as follows: "I am going to hold court in the Hu people's clothes, and I want you, my uncle, to wear the same clothes. All the members of a family should listen to the patriarch. All the people of a state should carry out the sovereign's order. This is a fixed rule that has come down from ancient times. Sons shouldn't act against the father's will, and court officials shouldn't defy the sovereign. This is a fundamental rule made by our ancient sovereigns. Now I am going to teach the people to wear the Hu people's clothes. If you don't wear them, I am afraid that others will controvert my decision. There are some fixed rules regarding governing a state, and the most important one should be benefiting the people. There are some fixed principles regarding administering a state, and the most valuable one should be ensuring that the sovereign's orders are carried out. Hence, if a sovereign wants to manifest his virtue, he should take the status of powerless people into serious consideration. If a sovereign wants to put his state in order, he should make the powerful people honest and reliable. As to the wearing of the Hu people's clothes, it is not that I am going to entertain myself by doing so. There is a concrete reason for it and it will definitely bring great contribution to our state. After my order is carried out and therefore a great contribution is made, my virtue will become obvious. However, I am afraid



【原文】

之，事利国者行无邪，因贵戚者名不累。故寡人愿募公叔之义，以成胡服之功。使继谒之，叔请服焉！”

公子成再拜曰：“臣固闻王之胡服也，不佞寝疾，不能趋走，是以不先进。王今命之，臣固敢竭其愚忠。臣闻之：中国者，聪明睿知之所居也，万物财用之所聚也，贤圣之所教也，仁义之所施也，诗书礼乐之所用也，异敏技艺之所试也，远方之所观赴也，蛮夷之所义行也。今王释此，而袭远方之服，变古之教，易古之道，逆人之心，畔学者，离中国，臣愿大王图之。”

【今译】

的反对意见。况且我听说，做有利于国家的事情就不会有错，依靠贵戚办事，名声就不会受到损伤。所以我想仰仗叔叔的大力支持，让我穿胡地衣服的举措取得成功。派继来禀报叔叔，请您穿胡地的衣服。”

公子成拜了两拜说：“我已经听说大王穿胡地的衣服了，我卧病在床，不能走路，所以没有先去拜见大王。今天接到大王的命令，我就斗胆竭尽自己的愚忠。我听说，中原地区，聪明睿智的人在这里居住，万物财货在这里积聚，圣贤教化在这里得以推广，仁义在这里得以实施，《诗经》、《尚书》、《周礼》、《乐记》在这里流传，拥有奇特技艺的人在这里施展才能，是远方地区人民观摩效仿的对象，是蛮、夷地区少数民族行为举止的典范。如今大王放弃了这一切，而沿袭偏远地区的服饰，改变古人的教导，更改古人的做法，违背现代人的心意，背叛圣贤教诲，背离中原习俗，我希望大王好好考虑一下。”



that you might not follow my order but support those who are against me in this respect. As far as I know, a sovereign can do anything beneficial to the state. And his reputation won't be harmed if he relies on his close relatives. So I want to win your support to help me successfully promote my plan of wearing the Hu people's clothes and reach my goal. That's why I have sent Xie here to inform you about it. Please do wear them."

Childe Cheng bowed twice and said, "I indeed heard that Your Majesty has started to wear the Hu people's clothes. However, I have been confined to bed because of illness and therefore cannot walk quickly, so I didn't visit you in advance. Now you have issued the order, therefore I must show my loyalty. As far as I know, the central part of China is an area where wise people congregate, various assets conglomerate, wise and capable people extend their teachings, principles of benevolence and righteousness are advocated and practiced, *Shijing* (Anthology of Ancient Poems), *Shangshu* (The Book of the Shang Dynasty), *Liji* (The Book on Proprieties) and *Yueji* (The Book On Music) are taught, and talented people exhibit their feats. Moreover, people of the distant areas observe and mimick our customs, and the minority peoples regard us as paragons. Nonetheless, you are going to give up all these factors and wear the clothes of a distant minority people. It is against old instructions, the traditional way of doing things and the will of the people. In addition, it also deviates from fixed teachings and our own custom. Please think it over again."



【原文】

使者报王。王曰：“吾固闻叔之病也。”即之公叔成家自请之，曰：“夫服者，所以便用也；礼者，所以便事也。是以圣人观其乡而顺宜，因其事而制礼，所以利其民而厚其国也。被发文身，错臂左衽，瓯越之民也；黑齿雕题，鯢冠秫缝，大吴之国也。礼服不同，其便一也。是以乡异而用变，事异而礼易。是故圣人苟可以利其民，不一其用；果可以便其事，不同其礼。儒者一师而礼异，中国同俗而教离，又况山谷之便乎？故去就之变，知者不能一；远近之服，贤圣不能同。穷乡多异，曲学多

【今译】

使者报告了赵武灵王。赵武灵王说：“我本来听说叔叔生病了。”随即就来到公叔成的家里，亲自向他请示道：“衣服，是为了穿着方便；礼节，是为了便于行事。因此圣人观察当地的风俗习惯，相应地订立服制，根据行事的便利而制订礼仪，为的是方便当地的百姓并且为国家带来利益。披散着头发，身体刺上花纹，将两臂交叉在胸前并且左掩衣襟，是瓯越地区的民俗；把门牙染成黑色，在额头上刺上花纹，戴鲛鱼皮做的帽子，用大大的针脚缝制衣服，是吴国的风俗。礼节和服饰不同，但在方便民众这一点上却是一致的。所以地区不同，所用的衣服器物就不同；事情不同，礼节就有差异。因此，如果能对百姓有利，圣人就不会硬要统一人们的服饰与器物；如果可以方便行事，就不会统一礼节。儒家学者都尊崇同一个大师，但他们的礼节却不相同，中原地区风俗相同，但各地的政教却有差别，更何况身处山谷的居民？他们更要采取能为自己提供便利的服饰与礼节了！所以，选择什么，放弃什么，连智者也不能制定统一标准。远方与近处居民的服饰，圣贤也不能使它们完全



The emissary reported Childe Cheng's words to the king. The king said, "I knew that my uncle was sick." He then went to Childe Cheng's home to ask for his instructions in person. He said, "The purpose of wearing clothes is to make one feel comfortable. And the purpose of proprieties is to facilitate some actions. Therefore, in order to benefit both the people and the state, sages observe the custom of an area and then design suitable clothes for the people there. They also study circumstances and then stipulate the rules of propriety. The Ouyue people are used to wearing long hair and tattoos, crossing both arms in front of the chest and fastening the front of their clothes towards the left. The people of the state of Wu normally dye their front teeth black, tattoo some patterns on their foreheads, wear catfish-skin hats and sparsely stitched clothes. Although there are various clothes and proprieties, their main purpose is to provide convenience for the people. Hence, different areas have different clothes and utensils. Various circumstances are accompanied by various proprieties. Hence, if the people can be benefited, sages will not standardise their clothes and utensils. If some affairs can really be facilitated, they will not unify the rules of propriety. The Confucians all admire the same master, but they follow diverse rules of proprieties. The people of the central part of China share the same customs, but they are influenced by different kinds of moral education. Not to mention what will happen to people living in mountains or along valleys. Hence, even wise people cannot unify customs. Even talented and sensible people cannot



【原文】

辨，不知而不疑，异于己而不非者，公于求善也。今卿之所言者，俗也；吾之所言者，所以制俗也。今吾国东有河、薄洛之水，与齐、中山同之，而无舟楫之用。自常山以至代、上党，东有燕、东胡之境，西有楼烦、秦、韩之边，而无骑射之备。故寡人且聚舟楫之用，求水居之民，以守河、薄洛之水；变服骑射，以备其参胡、楼烦、秦、韩之边。且昔者简主不塞晋阳以及上党，而襄（王）[主]兼戎取代以攘诸胡，此愚知之所明也。先时中山负齐之强兵，侵掠吾地，系累吾民，引水围鄯，非社稷之神灵，即鄯几不守。先王忿之，其怨未能报也。今骑射之服，近可以备上党之形，

【今译】

相同。穷乡僻壤多异俗，邪僻学说多诡辩，对于自己不知道的事情不加以怀疑，对于跟自己不同的事物不加以非议，是因为要公道地寻求美好的结果。现在您所说的是习俗，而我所说的是制约习俗。如今我们的国家东边有黄河、洛水，跟齐国和中山国共有这些水域，但我们却不能使用船只。从常山到代地和上党，东边跟燕国和东胡接壤，西边跟楼烦、秦国、韩国的边境相连，但我们却没有擅长骑马射箭的军队。因此我将聚集船只、征集水性好的百姓，来守卫黄河和洛水；改变服饰、练习骑马射箭，来守备与三胡、楼烦、秦国、韩国接壤的边境地区。况且，从前先君简子没有堵截通往晋阳的道路，使它直通上党，而先君襄子兼并戎人的居住地、夺取代地，来抗击胡人部落，这些都是我清楚地知道的。先前中山国倚仗齐国强大的军事力量，侵犯掠夺我们的国土，俘虏我们的百姓，引来大水围困鄯，要不是祖宗神灵的保佑，鄯大概就会失守。先王对此非常愤怒，这个仇恨到现在还没有报。如今改穿便于骑马射



standardise the clothes of people living both far or in the vicinity. Poor areas usually have strange customs. Heretical ideas are normally complicated. We shouldn't doubt things we are not familiar with. Nor should we attack those who look strange to us. That's the right way to pursue justice. You talked of customs. However, I want to argue how to dominate custom. As for the territory of our state, we share the Yellow River and the Luoshui River with the states of Qi and Zhongshan in the east. However, we are not used to using boats. From Mount Chang to the areas of Dai and Shangdang, our state shares borders with Yan and the East Hu in the east, and is adjacent to Loufan, Qin and Han in the west. However, we don't have cavalry and our soldiers are not used to archery. So I want to make good use of boats and look for people who are good at swimming to defend the Yellow River and the Luoshui River. And I also want to wear the Hu people's clothes and train our troops to ride and shoot so that we will be well prepared in case of aggression from Hu, Loufan, Qin or Han. Previously, our former sovereign Jianzi didn't block the road to Jinyang, so it could reach Shangdang. Our former sovereign Xiangzi annexed the land of the Rong people and took over Dai to fight back various tribes of the Hu people. I know these cases very well. Formerly, the state of Zhongshan encroached on our territory, held our people captive and released water to submerge the city of Hao with the help of the powerful Qi. Without the protection of the souls of our deceased sovereigns, we almost lost control of this area. Our former sovereign was very angry because of



【原文】

远可以报中山之怨。而叔也顺中国之俗以逆简、襄之意，恶变服之名，而忘国事之耻，非寡人所望于子！”公子成再拜稽首曰：“臣愚不达于王之议，敢道世俗之（间）[闻]。今欲继简、襄之意，以顺先王之志，臣敢不听（今）[令]！”再拜。乃赐胡服。

赵文进谏曰：“农夫劳而君子养焉，政之经也；愚者陈意而知者论焉，教之道也；臣无隐忠，君无蔽言，国之祿也。臣虽愚，愿竭其忠。”王曰：“虑无恶扰，忠无过罪，子其言乎。”赵文曰：“当世辅俗，古之道也；衣

【今译】

箭的服装，从近处说可以守备上党这一险要的地形，从远处讲可以向中山国报仇。但叔叔您却因袭中原地区的习俗，而违背先君简子、襄子的意愿，讨厌改变服饰的名声，却忘记了国家所蒙受的耻辱，这不是我所寄望于您的。”公子成拜了两拜，叩头说道：“我很蠢笨，不了解大王的旨意，才敢称述世俗的见闻。如今大王打算继承先君简子和襄子的意愿，来顺应祖宗的大志，我怎敢不听从命令？”又拜了两拜，于是赵武灵王赐给他胡地的服饰。

赵文进谏说：“农民辛苦劳作来供养君子，是政治的纲领；蠢笨的人陈述自己的心意，而由智慧的人下结论，是教化的准则；臣子不隐匿忠心，君主不阻塞言路，是国家的福分。尽管我很愚蠢，但愿意为大王竭尽忠心。”赵武灵王说：“考虑问题周到就不用担心不同意见的干扰，竭尽忠心就不会有罪过。您说吧。”赵文说：“顺应时代风俗，是自古以来



that, and we haven't avenged him. Now I am ready to change our clothes, teach our people to ride and shoot, so that we can safeguard Shangdang in a narrow sense, and avenge the aggression of Zhongshan in a broad sense. Nonetheless, you adhere to the customs of the central part of China and thus act against the will of Jianzi and Xiangzi. You hate the reputation of changing clothes and therefore leave the severe humiliation suffered by our state unavenged. You let me down." Childe Cheng bowed to the king twice and said, "I was too unwise to understand Your Majesty, so I advised you from a very traditional and conservative point of view. Now I know that you are going to follow in the footsteps of Jianzi and Xiangzi and take action according to the will of our deceased sovereigns. So I will carry out your order." He bowed again. Then the king presented him with a suit of the Hu People.

Zhao Wen went to remonstrate with the king and said, "It is natural that farmers work hard to support gentlemen. It is in accordance with the rule of moral education that ordinary people express their viewpoints and wise people make the decision. If court officials serve their sovereign with unrestrained loyalty and the sovereign doesn't stop court officials remonstrating with him in any case, this is a benefit for the state. Although I am unwise, I will not hold back my loyalty." The king said, "Provident people don't mind others disturbing them with their viewpoints, and it is not erroneous for court officials to serve the sovereign with loyalty. Please just express what you want to say." Zhao Wen said, "Adhering to contemporary custom is a rule handed down



【原文】

服有常，礼之制也；（修）〔循〕法无愆，民之职也。三者，先圣之所以教。今君释此而袭远方之服，变古之教，易古之道，故臣愿王之图之！”王曰：“子言世俗之（间）〔闻〕。常民溺于习俗，学者沉于所闻。此两者，所以成官而顺政也，非所以观远而论始也。且夫三代不同服而王，五伯不同教而政。知者作教，而愚者制焉；贤者议俗，不肖者拘焉。夫制于服之民，不足与论心；拘于俗之众，不足与致意。故势与俗化，而礼与变俱，圣人之道也；承教而动，循法无私，民之职也。知学之人，能与闻迁；达

【今译】

的做法；衣服有既定的规格，这是礼的规定；遵守法度，不犯错误，是百姓的义务。这三条，是古代圣贤所推行的教化。如今大王放弃了这些，而采用远方的衣服，更改古人的教导，改换古人的做法，所以我希望大王能慎重考虑一下。”赵武灵王说：“您所说的是世俗见闻。普通百姓拘泥于习俗，有学问的人沉溺于自己的见闻。这两种人能够忠于职守、服从管教，但不能高瞻远瞩、开拓创新。三代的服制不同，但都统一了天下；五霸的教化不同，但都能匡正天下。智者创作政令，而愚蠢的人受这些政令的制约；贤能的人移风易俗，而不肖的人受它束缚。那些死守服制规格的人，不能和他们推心置腹地交谈；拘泥于习俗的人，不能跟他们交流心意。所以习俗要随着形势而变化，礼节要适应这些变化并随之作出调整，这才是圣人所遵循的道。遵循教化而行动，遵守法律而不徇私，是百姓的职责。智慧而有学问的人不会拘泥于自己的见闻，通



from ancient times. Making clothes according to some fixed standards is in accordance with the rules of proprieties. Complying with the law and not breaching any regulations is the duty of the people. These aforementioned three matters belong to the moral education advocated by sages of previous times. Now you are going to give them up and adopt the clothes of people from afar. This is against the moral education and principles of our ancient sovereigns. So I hope that you think about it carefully." The king said, "What you said is very banal. Ordinary people are constrained by custom and common scholars are fettered by what they have heard. These two kinds of people can perform their duties and carry out orders. However, they are not provident and therefore cannot make important decisions or great innovations. The Three King Ancestors didn't force their people to wear the same clothes, but they unified the world. The Five Lord-protectors didn't issue the same policies, but they put the world in good order. Wise people make rules and ordinary people comply with them. Sensible and capable people discuss customs and unwise people follow them. You cannot share your innermost thoughts with people constrained by conventions. And it is difficult for people adhering to conservative custom to understand you. Hence, conventions should be changed according to different situations, and proprieties should be adjusted according to concrete situations. That's the sages' way of doing things. Carrying out orders and complying with the law is the duty of ordinary people. Wise and knowledgeable people will judge what they



【原文】

于礼之变，能与时化。故为己者不待人，制今者不法古，子其释之！”

赵造谏曰：“隐忠不竭，奸之属也；以私诬国，（贱）[贼]之类也。犯奸者身死，（贱）[贼]国者族宗。反此两者，先圣之明刑，臣下之大罪也。臣虽愚，愿尽其忠，无遁其死。”王曰：“竭意不讳，忠也；上无蔽言，明也。忠不辟危，明不距人。子其言乎。”

赵造曰：“臣闻之：‘圣人不更易民而教，知者不变俗而动。因民而教

【今译】

达礼的变化的人能顺应时势的变迁。所以为实现自己的理想而奋斗的人不在乎别人怎么看待自己，当代治理国家的君主不能一味效仿古人的做法。您算了吧。”

赵造进谏说：“臣下隐匿自己的忠心，不竭力侍奉君主，那就属于奸臣；因为自己的私利而危害国家，那就属于残害国家的人。奸臣该当处死，残害国家的人应当诛灭宗族。有这两种情形的人，是古代的圣王要公开处罚的，也是做臣子的极大罪过。我虽然愚蠢，但愿意竭尽自己的忠心。即使因此而被处死也在所不辞。”赵武灵王说：“彻底陈述自己的意愿而不加隐讳，就是忠臣；君主不阻拦臣下进言，就是明主。忠臣不回避危难，明君不拒绝臣子进言。您就直说吧。”

赵造说：“我听说：‘圣人不更改民众的习惯而进行教化，智者不改变习俗而进行治理。因循百姓的习惯进行教化，无需费力就能成功；根



hear correctly. People understanding the changes of proprieties will adapt to the ever-changing world. Hence, those who are engaged in realizing their goals don't care what others will say about their undertakings. Sovereigns in contemporary times should not blindly adhere to old traditions. Please don't mention it again."

Zhao Zao went to persuade the king and said, "If a court official holds back his loyalty when serving the sovereign, he is treacherous. If a court official takes advantage of the state to benefit himself, he is a criminal of the state. Treacherous court officials should be sentenced to death. The clans of the criminals of the state should be exterminated. These aforementioned two cases are the worst conduct of court officials and would be openly punished by ancient sovereigns. Although I am unwise, I won't hesitate to serve you loyally and devotedly even though I might offend you and therefore be sentenced to death." The king said, "Those who express their minds without holding anything back are loyal court officials. The sovereign who doesn't stop court officials remonstrating with him in any case is wise. Loyal court officials won't sidestep any danger, and a wise sovereign won't prevent others from remonstrating with him. Please tell me your points of view openly."

Zhao Zao said, "As far as I know, sages would edify the people without forcing them to adopt different customs, and wise people can successfully govern the people without changing any conventions. Sovereigns governing the people according to conventions can achieve great success without



【原文】

者，不劳而成功；据俗而动者，虑径而易见也。’今王易初不循俗，胡服不顾世，非所以教民而成礼也。且服奇者志淫，俗辟者乱民。是以莅国者不袭奇辟之服，中国不近蛮夷之行，非所以教民而成礼者也。且循法无过，修礼无邪，臣愿王之图之！”

王曰：“古今不同俗，何古之法？帝王不相袭，何礼之循？宓戏、神农，教而不诛；黄帝、尧、舜，诛而不怒。及至三王，观时而制法，因事而制礼。法度制令，各顺其宜；衣服器械，各便其用。故（礼）[治]世不必一其道，便国不必法古。圣人之兴也，不相袭而王；夏殷之衰也，不易礼

【今译】

据习俗进行治理，谋划起来简洁方便而且易于见到成效。如今大王更改原来的风俗习惯，穿胡地的衣服而不顾世人的看法，这样不能教化百姓、成就礼仪。而且，穿奇装异服，心志容易淫荡，风俗怪僻就会扰乱民心。所以统治国家的人不能穿奇异古怪的衣服，中原地区不要效仿蛮夷地区少数民族的行为，这些不是用来教化百姓并成就礼仪的。再说了，遵循法度就不会有过错，遵守礼仪就不会有差错。我希望大王考虑一下。”

赵武灵王说：“古今的风俗不同，为什么还要效仿古代？三王五帝的法度不互相因袭，为什么要遵循既定的礼仪？宓戏、神农对百姓进行教化引导而不加杀戮，黄帝、尧、舜诛杀犯人却不株连妻子儿女。到三王的时候，观测时势而制定法律，根据时事制定礼仪；法律命令以及各种制度都顺应时宜，衣服器物都便于实用。所以治理国家不必遵循固定不变的法则，利国利民也不必效仿古代的措施。圣人兴起后，不因袭



exerting much effort. Those who administer the people according to custom can easily accomplish achievements. Now you are going to overlook our custom and adopt the clothes of the Hu people. This is not the right way to edify the people and adhere to the rules of propriety. In addition, people wearing strange clothes are normally immoderate, and alien conventions often make people confused. Therefore, a sovereign governing a state should not adopt strange clothes and the people of the central part of China should not imitate the conduct of minority peoples, because that is not the right way to edify the people and adhere to the rules of proprieties. Besides, it is always right to comply with regulations and the rules of propriety. I hope that you can think about it carefully."

The king said, "The contemporary situation is different from that of ancient times. Why should we comply with the old regulations? Kings and Dis of ancient times didn't issue the same policies. Why should we maintain the old rules of propriety? Fu Xi and Shen Nong only edified their people and abolished the death penalty. The Yellow Emperor, Yao and Shun didn't abolish the death penalty but they would not exterminate the criminals' clans. When it came to the time of the Three King Ancestors, they made regulations according to the ever-changing situation and stipulated all the rules of propriety according to concrete situations. So all regulations and orders were issued suitably. All clothes and utensils were practical. Hence, there is no fixed rule of governing the state. Nor should we adopt old ways of benefiting and



【原文】

而灭。然则反古未可非，而循礼未足多也。且服奇而志淫，是邹、鲁无奇行也；俗辟而民易，是吴、越无俊民也。是以圣人利身之谓服，便事之谓教，进退之谓节。衣服之制，所以齐常民，非所以论贤者也。故圣与俗流，贤与变俱。谚曰：‘以书为御者，不尽于马之情。以古制今者，不达于事之变。’故循法之功，不足以高世；法古之学，不足以制今。子其勿反也！”

【今译】

古代的法制就能统一天下；夏朝和商朝的衰败，不更改旧礼也灭亡了。这样看来，反对古代的制度并不应该遭到非议，遵循古代礼仪也不值得赞扬。如果穿的衣服奇特心志就会淫荡，那么邹国和鲁国就不该有奇特的行为；如果风俗怪僻百姓就会轻浮，那么吴国和越国就不会有俊杰。因此圣人制作衣服是为了有利于身体，推行教化是为了便于行事，规定礼节是为了让人们进退有度。规定服饰制度是为了方便治理百姓，而不是用来衡量贤人的标准。所以圣人能跟世俗协调，贤者能与时俱进。有一句谚语说：‘完全按照书本上的知识来驾车，就不合乎马的本性；用古代的制度来治理当世，就是不通晓时势的发展变化。’所以遵循旧的制度不足以取得盖世的功劳，效法古代的学说不足以治理好当今社会。您还是不要反对我吧！”



strengthening the state. When sages rise, they can unify the world without adopting the regulations of ancient times. The Xia and Shang dynasties did maintain the old rules of propriety. Nonetheless, they both were overthrown. Hence, it is not reproachable to act against old regulations. Nor is it praiseworthy to comply with the rules of propriety blindly. Suppose people wearing strange clothes were always cyprian, there wouldn't have been any strange behaviour in the states of Zou and Lu. Suppose alien conventions always made people confused, there wouldn't have been any outstanding people in the states of Wu and Yue. Hence, sages dress to protect their bodies, spread moral education to facilitate their undertakings, and stipulate rules of propriety to show people how to behave. The standards of clothes are drafted to help govern the people, so they should not be used to judge the level of people's wisdom. Therefore, sages can accept custom and conventions, and sensible people can adapt to the ever-changing situation. There is a saying: 'Whoever drives a carriage exactly according to the instructions written in a driving monograph will be likely to act against the inborn nature of the horse. Whoever governs the contemporary world according to the old regulations will not understand the ever-changing situation.' Hence, complying with the old law is not enough to accomplish outstanding achievements. Adopting old principles is not enough to govern the contemporary world. Please don't act against my will."



王立周绍为傅

【原文】

王立周绍为傅，曰：“寡人始行县，过番吾，当子为子之时，践石以上者皆道子之孝。故寡人问子以璧，遗子以酒食，而求见子。子谒病而辞。人有言子者曰：‘父之孝子，君之忠臣也。’故寡人以子之知虑为辨足以道人，危足以持难，忠可以写意，信可以远期。诗云：‘服难以勇，治乱以知，事之计也；立傅以行，教少以学，义之经也。循计之事，失而[不]累；访议之行，穷而不忧。’故寡人欲子之胡服以傅王（乎）[子]。”

【今译】

赵王任命周绍为王子的老师，说：“我当初巡视州县时，路过番吾，您还是个孩子，那里的官员都说您是个孝子。所以我赠送给您一块玉，并且送给您一些酒和食物，请求见您一面。您告诉我生病而推辞了。有人对您说：‘父亲的孝子是君主的忠臣。’所以我认为您的智慧谋略是：明辨是非足以训导别人，高风亮节足以扶危救难，忠心耿耿可以表达心意，诚信可以恒久不渝。有句诗说：‘平定危难靠的是勇猛，治理国家靠的是智慧，这是做事的原则；确立太傅靠的是品行，教育少年靠的是学识，这是义的准则。遵循原则所做的事情，即使失败了也不会成为负担；依照道义行事，即使陷入困境也没有忧患。’所以我想让您穿胡人的服装来教导王族。”



The King Appointed Zhou Shao to be Grand Tutor

The king of the state of Zhao appointed Zhou Shao to be Grand Tutor to educate his princes. He said, "When I was inspecting the towns and counties, I passed by Fanwu. At that time, you were a child. All the officials there praised your filial piety. So I sent you a jade as a reward. I also provided you with some wine and food and asked to see you personally. However, you said that you were sick and refused to see me. Somebody told you that if a son serves his father dutifully, he must also be a loyal court official of his sovereign. Hence, because of your wisdom and intelligence, I think you are astute enough to give others instructions, distinguished enough to help others in trouble, loyal enough to express your thoughts directly, and honest enough to be appointed to carry out important tasks. It is said in a poem, 'Overcoming difficulties with valour and putting a state in order with wisdom are the right ways of doing things. A Grand Tutor should be appointed according to his own conduct, and teaching youths should rely on knowledge. This is in accordance with the principles of righteousness. By complying with the right way of doing things, there won't be any problem although every undertaking might not result in success. By adhering to the rules of righteousness, there won't be any trouble although one might be powerless.' So, I want you to educate the princes in the clothes of the Hu people."



【原文】

周绍曰：“王失论矣，非贱臣所敢任也。”王曰：“选子莫若父，论臣莫若君。君，寡人也。”周绍曰：“立傅之道六。”王曰：“六者何也？”周绍曰：“知虑不躁达于变，身行宽惠达于礼，威严不足以易于位，重利不足以变其心，恭于教而不快，和于下而不危。六者，傅之才，而臣无一焉。隐中不竭，臣之罪也；傅命仆官，以烦有司，吏之耻也。王请更论。”

王曰：“知此六者，所以使子。”周绍曰：“乃国未通于王胡服。虽然，

【今译】

周绍说：“大王选错人了，这个任务不是卑贱的我所敢担当的。”赵王说：“了解儿子没有比得上亲生父亲的，选择臣子没有比得上国君的。我是国君。”周绍说：“立太傅有六个标准。”赵王问道：“六个标准是什么？”周绍说：“智慧谋略、不急不躁、通达变化，宽厚仁惠、通达礼仪，不被威严所逼迫而改变自己的立场，不被重利诱惑而改变自己的内心，恭敬施教而不放纵自己，对待弟子和善而不高高在上。这六条是太傅应该具备的才干，而我一条都不具备。隐瞒实情、不加禀报，是臣子的罪过；附和命令、污辱职位，是官吏的耻辱。请大王另选别人。”

赵王说：“您知道这六条，所以才让您做太傅。”周绍说：“然而国内百姓还没有明白大王穿胡人服装的意图。虽然如此，我是大王的臣子，而大王严正地给我下达了命令，我怎敢不听从呢？”拜了两拜，接受赵王



Zhou Shao said, "Your Majesty, I am afraid that you might have chosen the wrong person. As an ordinary man, I dare not accept such an important task." The king said, "No one can know a young man better than his own father does. Nor can anyone know a court official better than his own sovereign does. I am your sovereign." Zhou Shao said, "A Grand Tutor should meet six requirements." The king asked, "What are these six requirements?" Zhou Shao said, "He should be wise enough to keep calm himself at all times and able to understand ever-changing situations. He should behave clemently, benevolently and adhere to the rules of propriety. He cannot be overawed by power and authority. Nor can he be lured with huge profit. He should be committed to educating his students and also live moderately himself. He should be amiable to his students and not consider himself superior to them. These six factors are the required qualities of a Grand Tutor. However, I don't meet even one of them. Not telling the truth is the sin of court official. Taking orders blindly, not performing duties responsibly and thus worrying officers in charge is shameful conduct. Your Majesty, please select another person for this task."

The king said, "Since you know these six requirements, you must be the right person for this task." Zhou Shao said, "The people of our state don't understand the meaning of wearing the clothes of the Hu people. Although this is the case, I am Your Majesty's court official, and you have issued me this important order. How dare I refuse to take it?" He



【原文】

臣，王之臣也，而王重命之，臣敢不听令乎？”再拜，赐胡服。

王曰：“寡人以王子为子任，欲子之厚爱之，无所见丑；御道之以行义，勿令溺苦于学。事君者，顺其意，不逆其志；事先者，明其高，不倍其孤。故有臣可命，其国之禄也。子能行是，以事寡人者毕矣。《书》云：‘去邪无疑，任贤勿贰。’寡人与子，不用人矣。”遂赐周绍胡服衣冠、具带、黄金师比，以傅王子。

【今译】

赏赐给他的胡人服装。

赵王说：“我把王子们交给您了，希望您厚爱他们，不要厌恶他们，教导他们遵行道义，不要让他们沉溺于苦学。侍奉君主的人，要遵循君主的心意而不违背他的心愿；侍奉先君的人，要彰明他的高洁并且不背弃他的遗孤。所以，有听从命令的大臣，是国家的福分。您如果能做到这一点，侍奉我的任务就完成了。《尚书》中说：‘铲除邪恶不要迟疑，任用贤人不要犹豫。’我把这个职位交给您，不任用别人了。”于是赐给周绍胡人的衣帽、腰带和黄金做的带钩，让他教育王子。

赵燕后胡服

【原文】

赵燕后胡服，王令让之曰：“事主之行，竭意尽力，微谏而不哗，应对

【今译】

赵燕迟迟没有穿胡人的衣服，赵王派人责备他道：“侍奉君主，要竭尽忠心与全力，要暗进谏而不大声宣扬，回答君主的话不要抱怨，



bowed twice to the king, and accepted the clothes of the Hu people bestowed by the king.

The king said, "I entrust you with the education of the princes. I hope that you can take good care of them and don't mistreat them. Please show them how to adhere to the rules of righteousness and make sure that you don't turn them into bookworms. A person serving his sovereign should act according to the will of the sovereign. A person serving an old man should magnify his master's strong points and not neglect his orphans (after his master's death). Hence, it is good luck for a state if it has dutiful court officials who can always carry out orders. If you act the same way to serve me, that's the best you can do for me. It is said in *Shangshu*: 'Don't hesitate in ridding yourself of evil people and employing the worthy.' I will appoint you to be Grand Tutor and won't allocate this task to anyone else." Then he bestowed upon Zhou Shao the clothes, hat, belt and golden buttons of the Hu people and appointed him to be Grand Tutor of the princes.

Zhao Yan Delayed Wearing the Hu People's Clothes

Zhao Yan delayed wearing the Hu people's clothes. The king of the state of Zhao sent a messenger to admonish him as follows: "A person working for his sovereign should serve him heart and soul. He should remonstrate with the sovereign privately, never loudly and openly. He shouldn't complain when answering the sovereign's question. He



【原文】

而不怨，不逆上以自伐，不立私以为名。子道顺而不拂，臣行让而不争。子用私道者，家必乱；臣用私义者，国必危。反亲以为行，慈父不子；逆主以自成，惠主不臣也。寡人胡服，子独弗服，逆主罪莫大焉；以从政为累，以逆主为高，行私莫大焉。故寡人恐亲犯刑戮之罪，以明有司之法。”赵燕再拜稽首曰：“前吏命胡服，施及贱臣，臣以失令过期，更不用侵，辱教，王之惠也。臣敬循衣服以待（今）[令]日。”

【今译】

不违背君主的意志来自我夸耀，不自我标榜来追求虚名。做儿子的原则是顺从父亲而不违背他的意愿，做臣子的品行是谦让而不争名夺利。做儿子的按照自己的方式行事，家中就会出现混乱；做臣子的按照自己的意志行事，国家必定会有危险。违背父母的意志而自行其是的人，慈父不承认他是自己的儿子；违背君主的意愿而自以为是的人，宽厚的君主不任用他做臣子。我倡导穿胡人的衣服，而唯独你不穿，再也没有比违背君主的意志更严重的罪过了。你把遵从命令当作负担，把违背君主的意愿当作有气节，徇私没有比这更严重的了。所以我担心你犯下被杀头的重罪，来表明我们严格执行相关法律。”赵燕拜了两拜叩头说：“前些时候官吏命令穿胡人的衣服，命令已经传达给我了。我没有执行命令，延误了期限，您却没有惩罚我，反而屈尊开导我，这是大王对我的恩惠。我会恭敬地遵循服饰制度来执行大王的命令。”

王破原阳

【原文】

王破原阳以为骑邑。牛赞进谏曰：“国有固籍，兵有常经，变籍则

【今译】

赵王攻破了原阳，把它作为专供骑马射箭的城邑。牛赞进谏道：



shouldn't act against the sovereign's will to show off, or take action secretly to gain a high reputation for himself. A son should comply with the will of his father and never act against it. A court official should behave humbly and never vie with others for wealth or fame. If a son acts according to his own will, the family will be disorganized. If court officials act according to their own wills, the state will be in danger. If a son acts against the will of his parents, even a kind father won't accept him as son. If a person goes his own way, even a benevolent sovereign won't employ him as court official. I ordered you to wear the clothes of the Hu people. You are the only one who refuses to wear these clothes. Nothing could be more sinful than not following the sovereign's order. If you regard taking orders as a burden and consider acting against the sovereign's will as correct, nothing could be more selfish. So, I am afraid that you may be sentenced to death according to our regulations." Zhao Yan bowed twice, knelt down and apologized, "A few days ago, I received the order to wear the clothes of the Hu People. I have delayed taking this order. You not only didn't punish me for that, but condescended yourself to give me instructions. That is very kind of you to do so. I will carry out your orders and dress with respect according to the rules regarding clothes."

The King of Zhao Occupied Yuanyang

The king of the state of Zhao occupied the city of Yuanyang and turned it into an area for training cavalry and



【原文】

乱，失经则弱。今王破原阳以为骑邑，是变籍而弃经也。且习其兵者轻其敌，便其用者易其难。今民便其用而王变之，是损君而弱国也。故利不百者不变俗，功不什者不易器。今王破卒散兵以奉骑射，臣恐其攻获之利不如所失之费也。”

王曰：“古今异利，远近易用。阴阳不同道，四时不一宜。故贤人观时而不观于时，制兵而不制于兵。子知官府之籍，不知器械之利；知兵

【今译】

“国家有既定的典章制度，用兵有固定的准则。改变典章制度就会出现混乱，背离固定的准则就会削弱兵力。如今大王攻克原邑，把它作为专供骑马射箭的城邑，这就是改变典章制度并且抛弃固定准则啊。而且，熟悉从前的兵制，就能轻而易举地战胜敌人，能熟练运用军械的，即使是难用的器械，在他们面前也变得容易操作。如今人民熟悉了从前的装备而大王却要改变它们，这样一来，就会损害您的利益而且导致国家衰弱。所以除非能获得百倍的利益，否则就不能改变习俗；除非能获得十倍的利益，否则就不能更换器械。如今大王要解散士卒来供养骑兵射手，我担心这样一来，我们所获得的利益比不上我们所损失的费用多啊。”

赵王说：“古代和当今有着不同的利益，远方和当地有不同的器用。阴阳遵循不同的法则，四时并不整齐划一。所以贤明的人观察时势而不被时势所左右，控制兵力而不被兵力所控制。您只知道官府的典籍，



archers. Niu Zan remonstrated with the king and said, "A state has perpetual regulations and the military forces should be commanded according to fixed rules. If you don't adhere to these regulations, the state will become disorderly. If you overlook these rules, the military forces will be weakened. Now Your Majesty has occupied Yuanyang and turned it into an area for training cavalry and archers. This is simply acting against old regulations and overlooking fixed rules. Moreover, armies familiar with the deployment of enemy troops can defeat them easily. Officers and men used to complicated weapons can operate them effectively. Now our people have been used to the weapons we now have but you are going to change them. Thus you will damage yourself and weaken our state. So, one shouldn't change conventions unless the change can produce one hundred times more profit. One shouldn't change utensils unless the changed ones can make ten times bigger contribution. Now you are going to disband our infantry in favour of cavalry and archers. I am afraid that the change might not be a remedy for the losses we will suffer."

The king said, "The benefit of contemporary time is different from that of ancient times. Utensils of our state are different from those used by people living in remote regions. Yin and Yang comply with different rules. The four seasons are not the same. Hence, wise people make good use of the situation but they themselves won't be manipulated by the situation. They take control of weapons but they themselves won't be controlled by weapons. You know the official



【原文】

甲之用，不知阴阳之宜。故兵不当于用，何兵之不可易？教不便于事，何俗之不可变？昔者先君襄主与代交地，城境封之，名曰‘无穷之门’，所以昭后而期远也。今重甲（循）[修]兵不可以逾险，仁义道德不可以来朝。吾闻信不弃功，知不遗时，今子以官府之籍乱寡人之事，非子所知。”

牛赞再拜稽首曰：“臣敢不听令乎？”（至）[王]遂胡服，率骑入胡，出于遗遗之门，逾九（限）[原]之固，绝五陁之险，至榆中，辟地千里。

【今译】

却不知道器械的便利；只知道兵器铠甲的功用，却不知道阴阳的变化。所以，假如兵器不适合使用，什么样的兵器不可以更换呢？教化不便于事业，什么样的习俗不可以改变呢？从前先君襄子的领土跟代国接壤，在边境上修筑了一座城邑，城门叫‘无穷之门’，用来昭示后世与远方的人们。身穿笨重的铠甲、携带太长的兵器，不可以越过险阻；只是一味推行仁义道德，不可以让胡人来朝拜。我听说诚信的人不会放弃建功立业的机会，智慧的人不会白白错过有利时机。如今你用官府的典章制度来扰乱我要做的事情，你不会知道这些事的。”

牛赞拜了两次，叩头说道：“我怎敢不听从命令呢！”于是就穿起胡人的衣服，率领骑兵冲进胡人的地盘，奔出挺关，穿越险固的九原城，翻越险要的井陉关，到达了榆中地区，开辟了一千里土地。



regulations, but don't know the advantages of other utensils. You know the use of weapons and armour, but don't know the rules of Yin and Yang. Hence, if some weapons are unpractical, why shouldn't they be replaced? If some conventions cannot facilitate our undertakings, why shouldn't they be changed? Previously, the territory of our departed sovereign—Xiangzi was adjacent to the area of Dai. In order to manifest his achievements to later generations, Xiangzi had a city built on the border whose gate was called 'Gate of Endlessness'. When wearing heavy armour and carrying long weapons, it is not possible to traverse some dangerous places. We cannot make the Hu people submit to us simply by extending the virtues and principles of benevolence and righteousness. I heard that an honest person will not miss the chance to make great contributions to his state, and a wise person will grasp every opportunity. Now you are about to disarrange my undertaking with those official regulations. You don't know anything at all."

Niu Zan bowed twice to the king, knelt down in front of him and said, "I dare not refuse to take your orders!" Then he dressed in the clothes of the Hu people and led the cavalry into the territory of the Hu people. After marching through the pass of Ting, the strong fortification of Jiuyuan, and marching through the strategic passe of Jingxing, they arrived in Yuzhong and seized about one thousand square *li* of land from the Hu people.

卷二十 赵 三

赵惠文王三十年

【原文】

赵惠文王三十年，相都平君田单问赵奢曰：“吾非不说将军之兵法也，所以不服者，独将军之用众。用众者，使民不得耕作，粮食挽赁不可给也。此坐而自破之道也，非单之所为也。单闻之，帝王之兵，所用者不过三万，而天下服矣。今将军必负十万、二十万之众乃用之，此单之所不服也。”

马服曰：“君非徒不达于兵也，又不明其时势。夫吴干之剑，肉试则断牛马，金试则截盘匱。薄之柱上而击之，则折为三；质之石上而击

【今译】

赵惠文王即位后的第三十年，相国都平君田单对赵奢说：“我并非不喜欢将军您的兵法，我所不服的只是您带的兵太多。让太多的人当兵，使人民不能耕作，不能供给军队足够的粮饷，这是坐待灭亡的做法啊，我不会这么做的。我听说，帝王所用的兵，数目不会超过三万，而天下人都会归附。如今您带兵一定要十万、二十万之多，这是我所不服气的。”

马服君说：“您不但不通晓用兵之道，而且不明时势。就说吴国的干将宝剑，用来割肉能切断牛马，用来切割金属能截断盘匱。把它们靠在柱子上敲击，就会断作三截；垫在石头上敲打，就会成为数以百计的





Book 20

The Third Volume on Zhao

King Huiwen of Zhao Had Been in Power for Thirty Years

Thirty years after King Huiwen of the state of Zhao came into power, Tian Dan, the then prime minister of Zhao, otherwise known as Lord Duping, said to Zhao She, "It is not that I don't appreciate your tactics. The only thing I cannot admire you for is that you are commanding an oversize army. If too many people have been enlisted, there will not be enough people working in the fields any more. It will also be impossible to produce enough rations for our troops. This will simply cause self-damage. I wouldn't act this way. I heard that Dis and Kings used to command no more than thirty thousand soldiers, and people all over the world submitted to their authority. Now you constantly command one hundred thousand soldiers, or even two hundred thousand soldiers. That's why I cannot admire you."

Lord Mafu (referring to Zhao She) said, "Not only do you know nothing about tactics, but you are also not clear about the current situation. As for the best swords made in Wu and Gan, if you test them on flesh, they can cut cows and horses into pieces. If you test them against metal, they can slice plates and basins. However, if you lean a sword against a post and beat it, it will break into three parts. If you put a sword horizontally on a stone and beat it, it will break into



【原文】

之，则碎为百。今以三万之众而应强国之兵，是薄柱击石之类也。且夫吴干之剑材难，夫毋脊之厚，而锋不入；无脾之薄，而刃不断。兼有是两者，无钩竿饔蒙须之便，操其刃而刺，则未入而手断。君无十余、二十万之众而为此钩竿饔蒙须之便，而徒以三万行于天下，君焉能乎？且古者，四海之内分为万国。城虽大，无过三百丈者；人虽众，无过三千家者。而以集兵三万距，此奚难哉？今取古之为万国者，分以为战国七，能具数十万之兵，旷日持久，数岁，即君之齐已。齐以二十万之众攻荆，五年乃罢；赵以二十万之众攻中山，五年乃归。今者齐、韩相方，而国围

【今译】

碎片。如今用三万兵力来对抗强大敌国的军队，和把宝剑靠在柱子上敲击或垫在石头上敲打是一样的。而且吴国干将宝剑很难得，如果剑脊太薄，剑刃就不能切入物体；如果剑刃没有适宜的薄度，就不能斩断东西。两者都具备了，如果没有剑环、剑柄、剑耳等的便利，拿起剑刃就刺，还没有刺中对方，自己的手就被切断了。您如果没有十多万、二十万大军，只有剑环、剑柄、剑耳的便利，只用三万兵力就想横行天下，您怎么能做到呢？而且，古代四海之内被划分为上万的'国家。城墙虽然广大，也没有超过三百丈的；人口虽然众多，也没有超过三千家的。而集中三万兵力攻城，这有什么难的呢？如今古代一万个国家所在的地方被分为七个互相征战的'国家，能够聚集几十万军队，旷日持久地作战长达几年时间，您以前所在的齐国也是这样的情形啊。齐国派出二十万军队进攻楚国，用了五年时间才打完；赵国派出二十万军队进攻中山，五年后才撤军。如今齐国和韩国势均力敌，如果这两个国家互相进



hundreds of pieces. Now if we command thirty thousand soldiers to confront the troops of a powerful enemy state, it is similar to leaning a sword against a post or putting it on a stone and beating it. It is very difficult to obtain such swords. If the blade is not strong enough, the sword cannot stab into things. If the cutting-edge is not thin enough, the sword cannot slice things. If a sword has both a suitable blade and the correct cutting-edge but has no daisy chain, handle and the protruding part of the hanelle, when you try to stab an object, you will cut off your own hand before you reach the target. Instead of having more than one hundred or two hundred thousand soldiers, if you only command an army of thirty thousand soldiers, how can you attain your goal? In addition, in ancient times, the whole world was divided into about ten thousand states. The protective wall of the biggest city at that time was no longer than three hundred *zhang* and the city had no more than three thousand families. Wasn't it easy to defeat such a city with thirty thousand soldiers? Now on the territory of those ten thousand ancient states, seven powerful states have come into being. If you want to conquer one of them, you need to concentrate hundreds of thousands of soldiers to launch attacks on it, and that takes years. You had witnessed this when you were still in the state of Qi. Qi sent two hundred thousand soldiers to attack the state of Chu, and the war was not finished until five years later. The state of Zhao dispatched two hundred thousand soldiers to invade the state of Zhongshan, and the troops didn't return to Zhao until five years later. Now the state of Qi and the



【原文】

攻焉，岂有敢曰我其以三万救是者乎哉？今千丈之城、万家之邑相望也，而索以三万之众围千丈之城，不存其一角，而野战不足用也，君将以此何之？”都平君喟然太息曰：“单不至也！”

【今译】

攻，难道会有人敢断言自己能率领三万军队营救它们吗？如今有着长达千丈的城墙和一万户人家的城邑比比皆是，而要求用三万军队来围困一座千丈的城邑，还不能包围它的一个角落，并且也不足以用于野战。您还能用这点兵力做什么呢？”都平君感慨地长叹道：“我不如您哪。”

赵使(机)[仇]郝之秦

【原文】

赵使(机)[仇]郝之秦，请相魏冉。宋突谓(机)[仇]郝曰：“秦不听，楼缓必怨公。公不若阴辞楼子曰：‘请无急秦王。’秦王见赵之相魏冉之不急也，且不听公言也，是事而不成，魏冉固德公矣。”

【今译】

赵国派(机)[仇]郝到秦国去，为魏冉请求相国一职。宋突对(机)[仇]郝说：“如果秦国不听从，楼缓必定会怨恨您。您不如暗地里告诉楼缓说：‘为了你的原因，我不会催促秦王。’秦王发觉赵国不急于让魏冉当上相国，就不会听从您的建议。这样即便事情不会成功，魏冉仍然会感激您的。”



state of Han can match each other in terms of might. If the troops of these two states engage in a war, does anybody dare declare that he can rescue one side with thirty thousand soldiers? Nowadays, cities with protective walls as long as one thousand *zhang* and with ten thousand families can be found everywhere. If thirty thousand soldiers are ordered to besiege such a big city, they can barely block off one corner. And they are also not enough for field operations. What goal can you attain with that number of soldiers then?" Lord Duping groaned and said, "I am not as capable as you are."

Zhao Sent Qiu Hao to Qin

The state of Zhao sent Qiu Hao to the state of Qin to ask Qin's king to appoint Wei Ran as prime minister of Qin. Song Tu had a talk with Qiu Hao and said, "If the state of Qin doesn't take your advice, Lou Huan (referring to the then prime minister of the state of Qin) will definitely be very bitter towards you. You'd better secretly tell Lou Huan, 'For your sake, I won't push the king of Qin to appoint Wei Ran to be the new prime minister.' When the king of Qin realizes that the state of Zhao won't coerce him into assigning Wei Ran as the new prime minister urgently, he will be likely to ignore your suggestion. Thus your plan will be in vain. But Wei Ran will still be grateful to you anyway."

齐破燕赵欲存之

【原文】

齐破燕，赵欲存之。乐毅谓赵王曰：“今无约而攻齐，齐必仇赵。不如请以河东易燕地于齐。赵有河北，齐有河东，燕、赵必不争矣。是二国亲也。以河东之地强齐，以燕以赵辅之，天下憎之，必皆事王以伐齐。是因天下以破齐也。”王曰：“善。”乃以河东易齐，楚、魏憎之，令淖滑、惠施之赵，请伐齐而存燕。

【今译】

齐国军队攻破了燕国，赵国想保全燕国。乐毅对赵王说：“如今没有联合别的国家而独自进攻齐国，齐国一定会仇恨赵国。不如请求用河东地区跟齐国交换它从燕国夺取的土地。赵国占有河北，齐国占据河东，燕国和赵国必定不会陷入争端了。这样一来，它们就会互相亲近。用河东的土地来壮大齐国，又有燕国和赵国辅助它，天下各国就会憎恨齐国，必定都会侍奉大王并且讨伐齐国。这样就可以借助天下各国来攻破齐国。”赵王说：“好。”于是用河东的土地跟齐国交换。楚国和魏国憎恨齐国，楚国派淖滑、魏国派出惠施到赵国，请求进攻齐国并保全燕国。

秦攻赵蔺离石祁拔

【原文】

秦攻赵，蔺、离石、祁拔。赵以公子郢为质于秦，而请内焦、黎、牛狐

【今译】

秦国军队进攻赵国，攻克了蔺、离石、祁。赵国让公子郢到秦国去





Qi Destroyed Yan and Zhao Wanted to Re-establish Yan

The troops of the state of Qi destroyed the state of Yan. The state of Zhao wanted to re-establish the state of Yan. Yue Yi had a talk with the king of the state of Zhao and said, "Now if you don't unite with other states but launch an attack on the state of Qi alone, Qi will be very hostile towards you. It would be better if you trade our land east of the Yellow River for the territory taken by Qi from Yan. Thus Zhao can secure the region north of the Yellow River, and Qi can own the area east of it. Therefore, Yan and Qi can avoid further conflicts. So these two states can maintain good relations with each other. The state of Qi will be strengthened by the region east of the Yellow River as well as supported by the state of Yan and the state of Zhao. As a result, other states of the world will become hostile towards it. So they will all submit to you and will also unite with you to attack Qi. Hence, aided by the might of other states in the world, you can defeat Qi." The king said, "Very good." So he trade the land east of the Yellow River for the territory seized from Yan by the state of Qi. The states of Chu and Wei disliked this. So they sent Zhuo Chi and Hui Shi to the state of Zhao to invite Zhao to join them in attacking Qi and re-establishing Yan.

Qin Attacked Zhao and Occupied Lin, Lishi and Qi

The troops of the state of Qin attacked the state of Zhao



【原文】

之城，以易蔺、离石、祁于赵。赵背秦，不予焦、黎、牛狐。秦王怒，令公子繆请地。赵王乃令郑朱对曰：“夫蔺、离石、祁之地，旷远于赵，而近于大国。有先王之明与先臣之力，故能有之。今寡人不逮，其社稷之不能恤，安能收恤蔺、离石、祁乎？寡人有不令之臣，实为此事也，非寡人之所敢知！”卒倍秦。秦王大怒，令卫胡（易）[易]伐赵，攻阨与。赵奢将救之，魏令公子咎以锐师居安邑以挟秦。秦败于阨与，反攻魏几。廉颇救几，大败秦师。

【今译】

做人质，从而请求把焦、黎、牛狐等城邑献给秦国，来交换蔺、离石与祁。赵国不履行对秦国许下的诺言，没有把焦、黎、牛狐送给秦国。秦王十分恼火，命令公子繆去索要土地。于是赵王派郑朱应对他说：“蔺、离石与祁等地方距离赵国都城非常遥远，而且靠近贵国。凭借着前代国君的英明和前代大臣的能力，所以才能占据那里。如今我的才能比不上他们，连国家都不能顾及，怎么能收复蔺、离石与祁呢？我不听从命令的臣子，实际上是他们干的这事，我本人并不了解啊。”最终背弃了秦国。秦王十分愤怒，命令卫人胡易讨伐赵国，攻打阨与。赵奢率领军队营救，魏国派公子咎率领精锐部队驻扎在安邑以夹击秦军。秦军在阨与被击败，掉头攻打魏国的魏几。廉颇援救魏几，重重击败秦军。



and occupied the regions of Lin, Lishi and Qi. The state of Zhao sent Childe Wu to the state of Qin as a hostage. Then Zhao asked for Qin's permission to trade the areas of Jiao, Li and NiuHu for Lin, Lishi and Qi. After that, Zhao didn't keep its word to Qin and refused to give Qin the areas of Jiao, Li and NiuHu. The king of Qin was angered, so he sent Childe Zeng to Zhao to demand the land. The king of the state of Zhao asked Zheng Zhu to reply to Childe Zeng as follows: "The regions of Lin, Lishi and Qi are very far from our capital and located near your state. Through the wisdom of our deceased sovereigns and departed court officials of past generations, we took over these areas. However, I am not as worthy as they were and therefore am not able to efficiently govern my state. How then can I reoccupy Lin, Lishi and Qi? There are some court officials who do not take my orders. It must have been them who have done this. I didn't know anything about it." Finally he turned against the state of Qin. The king of Qin was very angry. He sent Hu Shang, a man from the state of Wei II, to lead his troops to invade the state of Zhao and attack the city of Yuyu. Zhao She led troops to rescue Yuyu. The king of the state of Wei I sent Childe Jiu to lead selected troops to garrison in Anyi and attack the troops of Qin from there. The troops of Qin were defeated in Yuyu. On their way back to Qin, they attacked Ji of the state of Wei I. Lian Po rescued Ji and badly defeated the troops of Qin there.



富丁欲以赵合齐魏

【原文】

富丁欲以赵合齐、魏，楼缓欲以赵合秦、楚。富丁恐主父之听楼缓而合秦、楚也。

司马浅为富丁谓主父曰：“不如以顺齐。今我不顺齐伐秦，秦、楚必合而攻韩、魏。韩、魏告急于齐，齐不欲伐秦，必以赵为辞，则伐秦者赵也，韩、魏必怨赵。齐之兵不西，韩必听秦违齐。违齐而亲，兵必归于赵矣。今我顺而齐不西，韩、魏必绝齐，绝齐则皆事我。且我顺齐，齐无而西。日者楼缓坐魏三月，不能散齐、魏之交。今我顺而齐、魏果西，是罢

【今译】

富丁想让赵国跟齐国和魏国联合，楼缓想让赵国跟秦国和楚国联合。富丁害怕君主会听从楼缓的建议而同意跟秦国和楚国联合。

司马浅为富丁对赵国君主说：“不如跟齐国联合。如果我们不跟齐国一起进攻秦国，秦国和楚国必定会联合起来进攻韩国和魏国。韩国和魏国向齐国求救，齐国不愿进攻秦国，必定会拿赵国做借口，那么不进攻秦国的就是赵国了，韩国和魏国一定会怨恨赵国。齐国军队不向西进攻秦国，韩国必定会听从秦国而违逆齐国，违逆齐国而亲近秦国，必定会派兵进攻赵国了。如今我们跟齐国联合了，而齐国军队不向西进攻秦国，韩国和魏国一定会跟齐国断绝关系，跟齐国断绝关系了，就会都来跟我们联盟。况且我们跟齐国联合，齐国军队不会不向西攻伐。前段时间，楼缓在魏国呆了三个月，不能拆散齐国跟魏国的交情。如今



Fu Ding Wanted Zhao to Ally with Qi and Wei

Fu Ding wanted the state of Zhao to ally with the state of Qi and the state of Wei. Lou Huan wanted the state of Zhao to build an alliance with the state of Qin and the state of Chu. Fu Ding was in fear that the sovereign might take Lou Huan's advice and unite with Qin and Chu.

On behalf of Fu Ding, Sima Qian had a talk with the sovereign of the state of Zhao and said, "We'd better ally with the state of Qi. If we don't join the state of Qi in attacking the state of Qin, Qin and Chu will unite with each other to attack the state of Han and the state of Wei. Han and Wei will ask the state of Qi for reinforcements. If Qi don't assist them, it will use our state as a subterfuge (because we refuse to ally with it). Thus it will be the state of Zhao that refuses to attack the state of Qin. As a result, Han and Wei will be very bitter towards Zhao. If the troops of Qi don't march westwards to attack Qin, Han will unite with Qin and act against Qi. In this case, Han and Qin will be close to each other, therefore they will definitely launch concerted attacks on Zhao. If you build an alliance with the state of Qi and Qi still doesn't send troops westwards to attack Qin, Han and Wei will cut off their ties with Qi. If this is the case, they will both consort with us. In addition, if we unite with Qi, Qi's troops will definitely march westwards to attack Qin. Once Lou Huan stayed in the state of Wei for about three months. But he still couldn't alienate



【原文】

齐敝秦也，赵必为天下重国。”主父曰：“我于三国攻秦，是俱敝也。”曰：“不然。我约三国而告之（秦）以未构中山也。三国欲伐秦之果也，必听我，欲和我。中山听之，是我以（王因）[三国]饶中山而取地也。中山不听，三国必绝之，是中山孤也。三国不能和我，虽少出兵可也。我分兵而孤（乐）中山，中山必亡。我已亡中山，而以余兵与三国攻秦，是我一举而两取地于秦、中山也。”

【今译】

我们跟齐国联合，而齐国和魏国军队果然向西进攻秦国，这样一来，就会把齐国和秦国都弄得疲惫不堪，赵国必定会成为天下非常重要的国家了。”赵国君主说：“我们加入齐国、韩国和魏国进攻秦国，就会把大家弄得都很疲惫。”司马浅说：“不是这样的。我们跟这三个国家联合，并且告诉它们我们还没有跟中山国讲和。如果这三个国家坚决要进攻秦国，必定会听我们的，就会让我们跟中山讲和。中山听从了，我们就可以凭借这三个国家的支持让中山屈服，从而割取它的土地；中山国不听从，这三个国家必定会跟它绝交，这样中山就被孤立起来了。如果这三个国家不能支持我们跟中山讲和，即便我们少派一些士卒进攻秦国，也是可以的。我们派一部分兵力摧毁被孤立的中山，中山必定会被消灭。我们消灭了中山以后，用其余的兵力加入三国进攻秦国，这样一来，我们一举就可以从秦国和中山两个国家割取土地。”

魏因富丁且合于秦

【原文】

魏因富丁且合于秦，赵恐，请效地于魏而听薛公。教子欬谓李兑

【今译】

魏国通过富丁想要跟秦国结盟，赵国很恐慌，请求进献土地给魏国



Wei from Qi. Now if we unite with Qi, the troops of Qi and Wei will certainly march westwards to attack Qin. As a result, both Qin and Qi will become exhausted. So Zhao will become an extremely powerful state in the world." The sovereign said, "If I join the three states—Qi, Han and Wei in attacking Qin, all of us will become exhausted." Sima Qian said, "No, that's wrong. We can ally with these three states and tell them that we still haven't started peace talks with the state of Zhongshan. If they have made up their minds to attack Qin, it's certain that they will listen to us and agree to let us negotiate a ceasefire with the state of Zhongshan. If Zhongshan listens to us, we can conquer it and gain some land from it with the might of these three states. If Zhongshan doesn't listen to us, these three states will definitely cut off their ties with it. As a result, Zhongshan will become isolated. If these three states don't support us negotiating a ceasefire with Zhongshan, we can take this as an excuse and send only a small army to join them in attacking Qin. Thus we can send the rest of our troops to defeat the isolated Zhongshan. Zhongshan will surely be beaten. After we defeat Zhongshan, we can send the rest of our troops to join the allied forces of those three states in attacking Qin. Thus we can gain land both from Qin and from Zhongshan."

Wei Wanted to Unite with Qin Through Fu Ding

The state of Wei wanted to unite with the state of Qin through Fu Ding. The state of Zhao was frightened, so it



【原文】

曰：“赵畏横之合也，故欲效地于魏而听薛公。公不如令主父以地资周（最）[最]，而请相之于魏。周（最）[最]以天下辱秦者也，今相魏，魏、秦必虚矣。齐、魏虽劲，无秦不能伤赵。魏（王）[不]听，是轻齐也。秦、魏虽劲，无齐不能得赵。此利于赵而便于周（最）[最]也。”

【今译】

并且听从薛公吩咐。有人让子款对李兑说：“赵国害怕连横成功，所以想进献土地给魏国并且听从薛公吩咐。您不如让主父用一些土地来资助周（最）[最]，并且为他请求魏国相国一职。周（最）[最]是凭借天下各国跟秦国为敌的人，如果他做了魏国的相国，魏国和秦国的关系一定会恶化。齐国和魏国虽然强大，不跟秦国联合起来就不能危害赵国。魏王如果不同意任用周（最）[最]为相国，就是轻视齐国。秦国和魏国虽然强大，不跟齐国联合起来就不能占有赵国。这对赵国有利，而且对周（最）[最]也有好处。”

魏使人因平原君请从于赵

【原文】

魏使人因平原君请从于赵。三言之，赵王不听。出遇虞卿，曰：“为

【今译】

魏国派人通过平原君请求跟赵国结为联盟，平原君三次进言，赵王



offered to cede some land to Wei and follow the orders of the lord of Xue. Someone from Zhao asked Zi Kai to extend a message to Li Dui as follows: "The state of Zhao fears that Qin and Wei might build an alliance with each other, so it is about to cede some land to Wei and follow the orders of the lord of Xue. You'd better ask the sovereign to provide some land to Zhou Ju to support him, as well as ask for the position of prime minister of Wei for him. Zhou Ju is the one who leads all the states of the world to confront the state of Qin. Now if he is appointed to be prime minister of the state of Wei, the relationship between Qin and Wei will worsen. Although the state of Qi and the state of Wei are powerful and strong, they cannot damage the state of Zhao without the help of the state of Qin. If the king of Wei agrees to appoint Zhou Ju to be prime minister of his state, it shows that he is not attaching importance to the state of Qi. Although the state of Qin and the state of Wei are powerful and strong, they cannot take over the state of Zhao without the help of the state of Qi. By doing so, the state of Zhao will benefit and it will also be advantageous to Zhou Ju."

Wei Sent Someone to Seek the Chance of Uniting with Zhao Through Lord Pingyuan

The state of Wei sent an emissary to the state of Zhao to seek the chance of building an alliance with it with the help of Lord Pingyuan. Lord Pingyuan persuaded the king of Zhao three times, but the king wouldn't listen to him. When Lord



【原文】

入必语从。”虞卿入，王曰：“今者平原君为魏请从，寡人不听。其于子何如？”虞卿曰：“魏过矣。”王曰：“然，故寡人不听。”虞卿曰：“王亦过矣。”王曰：“何也？”曰：“凡强弱之举事，强受其利，弱受其害。今魏求从而王不听，是魏求害而王辞利也。臣故曰：‘魏过，王亦过矣。’”

【今译】

都不听从。平原君出来的时候遇到虞卿，对他说：“如果进宫，一定要提跟赵国联合的事情。”虞卿进入宫中，赵王说：“今天平原君替魏国请求跟我们联合，我没有听他的，你认为这事怎么样？”虞卿说：“魏国做错了。”赵王说：“就是嘛，所以我不听他的。”虞卿说：“大王也错了。”赵王说：“为什么？”虞卿说：“但凡强国和弱国共事，强国会受益，弱国会受害。如今魏国请求跟我们联合而大王不听，这就是魏国追求害处而大王推辞好处啊。所以我说：‘魏国错了，大王也错了。’”

平原君(请)[谓]冯忌

【原文】

平原君(请)[谓]冯忌曰：“吾欲北伐上党，出兵攻燕，何如？”冯忌对曰：“不可。夫以秦将武安君公孙起乘七胜之威，而与马服(之)子战于长平之下，大败赵师，因以其余兵围邯(战)[郾]之城。赵以(亡)[七]败

【今译】

平原君对冯忌说：“我想向北进攻上党，派兵攻打燕国，怎么样？”冯忌回答说：“不行。当年秦国大将武安君白起凭借着七战七胜的威势，跟马服君的儿子赵括在长平城外展开大战，惨重击溃了赵国的军队，接着用他剩余的军队包围了邯郸城。赵国凭着七战七败的残余士卒，召



Pingyuan went out, he met Yu Qing and told him, "If you enter the palace, be sure to mention allying with the state of Wei to the king." Yu Qing entered the palace. The king said, "Today Lord Pingyuan suggest I build an alliance with the state of Wei. But I didn't take his advice. What do you think?" Yu Qing said, "The state of Wei is wrong." The king said, "Is it? Then I won't take his advice." Yu Qing said, "Your Majesty is also wrong." The king asked, "Why?" Yu Qing said, "If a strong state and a weak state work together, the strong one can benefit from the cooperation and the weak one will bear the disadvantages. Now the state of Wei begged to unite with us but you rejected it. In this case, Wei is seeking disadvantages and Your Majesty is rejecting benefit. So I said that Wei is wrong, and Your Majesty is also wrong."

Lord Pingyuan Had a Talk with Feng Ji

Lord Pingyuan had a talk with Feng Ji and said, "I am going to send troops to launch military action against Shangdang and attack the state of Yan. What do you think of it?" Feng Ji replied, "You shouldn't do that. Previously, based on seven victories gained in seven battles, Bai Qi, the Commander-in-Chief of the state of Qin, also known as Lord Wuan, led the troops of Qin to attack the son of Lord Mafu outside the city of Handan and defeated the troops of Zhao badly. Then he dispatched the remaining officers and men to besiege the city of Handan. The state of Zhao relied on the



【原文】

之余众，收破军之敝（守），而秦罢于邯郸之下。赵守而不可拔者，以攻难而守者易也。今赵非有七克之威也，而燕非有长平之祸也。今七败之祸未复，而欲以罢赵攻强燕，是使弱赵为强秦之所以攻，而使强燕为弱赵之所以守。而强秦以休兵承赵之敝，此乃强吴之所以亡而弱越之所以霸。故臣未见燕之可攻也。”平原君曰：“善哉！”

【今译】

集残兵败将，苦苦守卫邯郸，而秦国军队在邯郸城外筋疲力尽，不能攻克赵国守军、占领邯郸，是因为进攻艰难而守卫容易的缘故。如今赵国军队没有七战七胜的威势，而燕国也没有经历过类似长平之战的灾祸。现在赵国还没有从七战七败的灾难中恢复过来，却想用赵国疲惫的军队进攻强大的燕国，这是让疲弱的赵军充当强大的秦国的进攻军队，而让强大的燕国充当疲弱的赵军的守卫角色。强大的秦国用休整好的军队来进攻赵国疲惫不堪的军队，这就是当时强大的吴国之所以灭亡，而弱小的越国之所以称霸的原因。所以我认为不可以进攻燕国。”平原君说：“说得好！”

平原君谓平阳君

【原文】

平原君谓平阳君曰：“公子牟游于秦，且东，而辞应侯。应侯曰：‘公子将行矣，独无以教之乎？’曰：‘且微君之命命之也，臣固且有效于君：’

【今译】

平原君对平阳君说：“公子牟到秦国游历，即将向东返回魏国时向应侯辞别。应侯说：‘您就要离开了，难道没有什么要教导我的吗？’公子



troops that had already suffered seven severe losses to defend the city of Handan. The troops of Qin were exhausted, so they could not occupy Handan. It is much easier to defend an area compared with launching military action to attack an area. Now the troops of Zhao have not enjoyed seven victories like the aforementioned troops of Qin, and the state of Yan has not experienced such a disaster as the one we experienced in Changping. Our officers and men haven't recovered from those seven losses. As weak as we are, you want to attack the strong and powerful Yan. Thus we will force our officers and men to play the same role as the formidable assault troops of the state of Qin, and coerce the strong and powerful Yan into playing the same role as our weak state has done during the previous war. If the formidable and well rested troops of Qin take advantage of the exhausted troops of the state of Zhao, Zhao will be defeated. For the same reason, the state of Wu was overthrown, but the sovereign of the state of Yue became one of the Lord-protectors. So, I don't think that we should attack the state of Yan." Lord Pingyuan said, "Well, I see."

Lord Pingyuan Had a Talk with Lord Pingyang

Lord Pingyuan had a talk with Lord Pingyang, and said, "Once Childe Mou travelled around the state of Qin. When he was about to head for the east to return to his state—Wei, he went to say good-bye to Marquis Ying. Marquis Ying said, 'Now you are going to leave, do you have any instructions for



【原文】

夫贵不与富期，而富至；富不与粱肉期，而粱肉至；粱肉不与骄奢期，而骄奢至；骄奢不与死亡期，而死亡至。累世以前，坐此者多矣。’应侯曰：‘公子之所以教之者厚矣。’仆得闻此，不忘于心。愿君之亦勿忘也。”平阳君曰：“敬诺。”

【今译】

牟说：‘即使您不命令我这么做，我也想向您进言几句：尊贵不跟财富相约，财富也会不期而至；财富不跟美味相约，美味也会不期而至；美味不跟骄奢相约，骄奢也会不期而至；骄奢不跟死亡相约，死亡也会不期而至。几代以前，犯下这种罪过的人多着呢。’应侯说：‘您所赐教于我的太重要了。’我得以听到这件事，一直记在心里。希望您也别忘记了。”平阳君说：“遵命。”

秦攻赵于长平

【原文】

秦攻赵于长平，大破之，引兵而归。因使人索六城于赵而讲。赵计未定。楼缓新从秦来，赵王与楼缓计之曰：“与秦城何如？不与何如？”楼缓辞让曰：“此非人臣之所能知也。”王曰：“虽然，试言公之私。”楼缓

【今译】

秦国军队进攻赵国的长平，重重地挫败了赵军，退兵回国。于是趁机派人向赵国索要六座城邑来跟它讲和。赵国没有拿定主意。楼缓刚刚从秦国来到赵国，赵王跟楼缓商讨这件事说：“给秦国城邑会怎么样呢？不给又会怎么样呢？”楼缓推辞道：“这不是做臣子的所能够知道的。”赵王说：“虽然如此，请试着谈谈你个人的看法。”楼缓说：“大王听



me?' Childe Mou said, 'Even if you did not ask me, I did think of telling you something. Power doesn't invite wealth, but wealth arrives on its own when one gains power. Wealth doesn't invite delicacies, but delicacies arrive on their own when one obtains wealth. Delicacies don't invite extravagance, but extravagance arrives on its own when one is addicted to delicacies. Extravagance doesn't invite death, but death arrives on its own when one leads an extravagant life. Several generations ago, many people suffered from this.' Marquis Ying said, 'Your instructions are very important.' After I heard this, I lay it to heart at all times. I hope that you will bear it in mind as well." Lord Pingyang said, "Of course I will."

Qin Attacked Zhao's Changping

The troops of the state of Qin attacked the city of Changping of the state of Zhao, destroyed it and then withdrew. Due to the victory, Qin sent someone to Zhao to ask for six cities from Zhao as the prerequisite for ceasefire negotiations with Zhao. The king of Zhao could not decide what to do. Lou Huan came to Zhao from the state of Qin. In order to decide what he should do, the king of Zhao talked about the problem with Lou Huan and said, "What will happen if we do cede Qin the cities? And what will happen if we don't?" Lou Huan excused himself and said, "I cannot know things like this." The king said, "Although this might be the case, please tell me your own views on it." Lou Huan



【原文】

曰：“王亦闻夫公甫文伯母乎？公甫文伯官于鲁，病死，妇人为之自杀于房中者二八。其母闻之，不肯哭也。相室曰：‘焉有子死而不哭者乎？’其母曰：‘孔子，贤人也，逐于鲁，是人不随。今死而妇人为死者十六人，若是者，其于长者薄而于妇人厚。’故从母言之，之为贤母也；从妇言之，必不免为妒妇也。故其言一也，言者异，则人心变矣。今臣新从秦来，而言勿与，则非计也；言与之，则恐王以臣之为秦也。故不敢对。使臣得为王计之，不如予之。”王曰：“诺。”

虞卿闻之，入见王，王以楼缓言告之。虞卿曰：“此饰说也。”秦既解邯郸之围，而赵王入朝，使赵郝约事于秦，割六县而讲。王曰：“何谓

【今译】

说过公甫文伯的母亲吗？公甫文伯在鲁国做官，病死后，为了他在房间里自杀的女人有十六人。他母亲听说了此事，不肯哭他。保姆说：‘哪有儿子死了而不痛哭的呢？’公甫文伯的母亲说：‘孔子是个贤人，被鲁国驱逐了，公甫文伯却没有跟随孔子。如今他死了，却有十六个女人为他殉死，出现这种情形，是因为他对长者薄情却厚爱女人。’所以一个母亲说出这样的话，她仍然是一个好母亲；一个女人说出这样的话，就不免是善于嫉妒的女人。所以同样的话由不同的人说出来，听者心里会有不同的感受。如今我刚刚从秦国来到这里，如果说不给秦国土地，那不是个好主意；如果说给它，那我就会担心大王认为我是偏向秦国。所以不敢回答。假如我能够为大王谋划这件事，我认为不如把土地给秦国。”赵王说：“好的。”

虞卿听说了这件事，进宫拜见赵王，赵王把楼缓的话告诉了他。虞卿说：“这是诡辩。”秦国已经解除了对邯郸的包围，而赵王到秦国去朝



said, "Your Majesty, have you ever heard the story of the mother of Gongfu Wenbo? Gongfu Wenbo worked for the government of the state of Lu, and he died of a disease. Sixteen women committed suicide in their rooms because of his death. When his mother heard of this, she didn't cry. The maid of the family said, 'Doesn't everyone cry when his son dies?' His mother said, 'Kongzi (Confucius) is a worthy person, and he was driven out of the state of Lu. However, my son didn't follow Kongzi. Now he has died and sixteen women committed suicide because of it. This shows that he was not kind to old people but was very close to those women.' Hence, although the mother condemned her son, she could still be regarded as a worthy mother. If one of Gongfu Wenbo's female lovers had said something like that, she would be considered a jealous woman. Hence, although various people might hold the same opinion, listeners' feelings might vary because of different speakers. Now I just came from the state of Qin. If I suggest you do not cede these cities to Qin, it is simply impolitic. If I say you should give Qin those cities, I fear that you might think that I am doing so for the sake of the state of Qin. So I dare not reply to this question. But if I were you, I would cede the cities to Qin." The king said, "I see."

When Yu Qing heard of this, he entered the palace to see the king. The king repeated what Lou Huan had said to him. Yu Qing said, "This is nothing but sophism." After the troops of Qin besieging the city of Handan retreated, the king of Zhao went to Qin to pay homage to the king of Qin. He



【原文】

也？”虞卿曰：“秦之攻赵也，倦而归乎？（王以）[亡]其力尚能进，爱王而不攻乎？”王曰：“秦之攻我也，不遗余力矣，必以倦而归也。”虞卿曰：“秦以其力攻其所不能取，倦而归。王又以其力之所不能攻以资之，是助秦自攻也。来年秦复攻王，王无以救矣。”

王又以虞卿之言告楼缓。楼缓曰：“虞卿能尽知秦力之所至乎？诚知秦力之不至此，弹丸之地犹不予也，令秦来年复攻，王得无割其内而媾乎？”王曰：“诚听子割矣，子能必来年秦之不复攻我乎？”楼缓对曰：“此非臣之所敢任也。昔者三晋之交于秦，相善也。今秦释韩、魏而独

【今译】

拜，并且派赵郝商谈割让六个县给秦国来跟它讲和的事。赵王说：“这话是什么意思？”虞卿说：“秦国进攻赵国，是因为筋疲力尽了才退兵，还是按它的实力本可以继续进攻，却出于爱大王而不进攻了？”赵王说：“秦国进攻我们，已经是不遗余力了，必定是因为筋疲力尽而撤兵了。”虞卿说：“秦国派兵进攻自己所不能占领的国家，筋疲力尽后退兵。大王又把它没有力量通过自己进攻取得的土地进献给它，这是帮助秦国讨伐自己啊。明年秦军再来进攻，大王就没有办法自救了。”

赵王又把虞卿的话告诉了楼缓，楼缓说：“虞卿能完全知道秦国的兵力已经用尽了吗？果真能知道秦国的兵力达不到这般地步，弹丸之地也不会给它。假设秦国军队明年又来进攻，大王能够不割让内地的土地来跟它讲和吗？”赵王说：“如果真的听你的，割让土地给秦国，你能保证明年秦军不再进攻我们吗？”楼缓回答说：“这不是我敢担保的。从前韩国、赵国和魏国跟秦国结交，关系很友好。如今秦国放过韩国和魏



also sent Zhao Hao to cede six cities to Qin to make peace with it. The king said, "What do you mean?" Yu Qing said, "Regarding Qin's aggression, do you think the troops of Qin retreated because of exhaustion? Or do you think they were still capable of encroaching on your state but stopped due to their love for you?" The king said, "They spared no efforts attacking us. They must have retreated because of tiredness." Yu Qing said, "The troops of Qin spared no efforts attacking a place they couldn't occupy, and finally retreated because of tiredness. But Your Majesty is about to bestow upon them land they couldn't annex themselves. This is simply helping Qin and harming ourselves. If the troops of Qin come back to attack you next year, you won't have any means to protect yourself."

The king then told Lou Huan the viewpoint of Yu Qing. Lou Huan said, "Can Yu Qing really know all the details of the military forces of the state of Qin? If he really knows what Qin cannot do, you won't give it the smallest piece of land. If the troops of Qin come to attack you next year, won't you be forced to cede some of the inland regions to make peace with them?" The king said, "If I really take your advice to cede these cities to Qin, are you sure that the troops of Qin won't invade us again next year?" Lou Huan said, "I cannot assure you of that. Previously, Han, Zhao and Wei, the three states used to belong to the state of Jin, built ties with Qin and they used to be very close with each other. Now the troops of Qin only attack your state without causing any threat to Han and Wei. It must show that you must haven't



【原文】

攻王，王之所以事秦必不如韩、魏也。今臣为足下解负亲之攻，启关通（敝）[币]，齐交韩、魏。至来年而王独不取于秦，王之所以事秦者，必在韩、魏之后也。此非臣之所敢任也。”

王以楼缓之言告虞卿。[虞卿]曰：“楼缓言‘不媾，来年秦复攻，王得无更割其内而媾’。今媾，楼缓又不能必秦之不复攻也，虽割何益？来年复攻，又割其力之所不能取而媾也，此自尽之术也。不如无媾。秦虽善攻，不能取六城；赵虽不能守，亦不至失六城。秦倦而归，兵必罢。我以五城收天下以攻罢秦，是我失之于天下而取偿于秦也。吾国尚利，

【今译】

国而单独进攻大王的赵国，一定是大王侍奉秦国比不上韩国和魏国。如今我能为您解除因为不与秦国亲近而招致的进攻，开通关卡，互通贸易，使秦国跟我们的交情如同跟韩国和魏国的一样。到了明年，唯独大王不能取悦于秦国，一定是大王对秦王的侍奉落在了韩国和魏国的后面。这不是我敢担当的。”

赵王把楼缓的话告诉了虞卿，虞卿说：“楼缓说，‘如果不跟秦国讲和，明年秦国再进攻我们，大王不是还得割让内地的土地跟它讲和吗’？现在如果讲和，楼缓又不能保证秦国不再来进攻我们。即使割让土地又有什么用处？明年再来进攻我们，再割让它不能通过自己的力量争取的土地给它，这是自我灭亡的做法啊。不如不讲和。秦国即使善于攻战，也不能占领这六座城邑；赵国虽然不善于防守，也不至于失去这六座城邑。秦军筋疲力尽而撤兵，士卒一定很疲惫了；我们用五座城邑收买天下各国来进攻筋疲力尽的秦国，这样一来，我们给天下各国的土地就可以从秦国补偿回来。还会对我们的国家有利。跟老老实



served the king of Qin as well as Han and Wei have done. Now I can stop them attacking you although your own conduct led to Qin's aggression. I will remove the obstacles for trade along the border, resume business between Zhao and Qin, as well as establish good relations with Qin just like Han and Wei have done. If you are still the only one attacked by the troops of Qin next year, it means that you don't serve the king of Qin as well as Han and Wei do. So I cannot assure you that they won't attack you again."

The king told Yu Qing this viewpoint of Lou Huan, and Yu Qing said, "Lou Huan said that we shouldn't make peace with Qin at the cost of those six cities. If the troops of Qin invade us again next year, how can we avoid ceding inland regions to Qin if we present it with these cities now? Although we make peace with Qin now, Lou Huan cannot ensure that the troops of Qin not attack us next year. If we cede these cities to Qin, where's the benefit for doing that? If it attack us again next year, in order to make peace with it, we still need to cede it land that it cannot seize itself. This is the path leading to defeat. We'd better not make peace with it. Although Qin is clever at warfare, it cannot seize these six cities itself. Although Zhao is not strong in defence, at least it can secure these six cities. The troops of Qin retreated due to tiredness. Their officers and men must be exhausted. If we cede five cities to other states of the world to ally with them to attack the exhausted Qin, the land we cede to other states can be reimbursed from the state of Qin. Our state will also benefit from that. Isn't it better than ceding territory to Qin



【原文】

孰与坐而割地，自弱以强秦？今楼缓曰‘秦善韩、魏而攻赵者，必王之事秦不如韩、魏也’，是使王岁以六城事秦也，即坐而地尽矣。来年秦复求割地，王将予之乎？不与，则是弃前（贵）[功]而挑秦祸也；与之，则无地而给之。语曰：‘强者善攻，而弱者不能自守。’今坐而听秦，秦兵不敝而多得地，是强秦而弱赵也。以益愈强之秦，而割愈弱之赵，其计固不止矣。且秦，虎狼之国也，无礼义之心。其求无已，而王之地有尽。以有尽之地，给无已之求，其势必无赵矣。故曰：此饰说也。王必勿与。”王曰：“诺。”

楼缓闻之，入见于王，王又以虞卿言告之。楼缓曰：“不然，虞卿得

【今译】

实割让土地给秦国来削弱自己相比，哪个更有利呢？今天楼缓说：‘秦国对韩国和魏国友好却进攻赵国，一定是大王侍奉秦国比不上韩国和魏国。’这就是让大王每年都割让六座城邑来侍奉秦国，是坐待土地被割让殆尽啊。明年秦国再要求割取土地，大王给它吗？不给的话，就是放弃以前的努力而挑起秦国的入侵啊。给它吧，却没有土地可给了。有句话说：‘强者善于进攻，而弱者不能自我守卫。’如今老老实实听从秦国吩咐，秦国军队不会疲弊，反而会得到更多的土地，这样一来，就会增强秦国而削弱赵国。用越来越强大的秦国来侵吞越来越削弱的赵国，秦国的计谋当然不会停止了。况且秦国是一个虎狼般贪婪残暴的国家，没有礼义之心。它的贪欲无穷无尽，然而大王的土地却是有限的。用有限的土地来满足无限的贪欲，赵国势必要灭亡了。所以说这是诡辩。大王一定不要给秦国土地。”赵王说：“好的。”

楼缓听说了这件事，进宫拜见赵王，赵王又把虞卿的话告诉了楼



to weaken our own state and strengthen Qin at the same time? Lou Huan just said, 'The reason why Qin is friendly with Han and Wei but focuses on attacking Zhao lies in the fact that Your Majesty hasn't served the king of Qin so well as the sovereigns of Han and Wei have.' He is asking you to cede six cities to Qin every year. Therefore, we will lose all our territory for nothing. If Qin demands more territory from us next year, will you still agree? If you won't, not only will our previous efforts be in vain, but we will also encourage Qin's aggression against us. If you do agree, we will no longer have any land to cede. A saying states, 'A powerful state is clever at attacking other states. A weak state is unable to defend itself.' Now if we follow Qin's orders, Qin can gain more territory without using its military forces. Thus Qin will be strengthened, and Zhao will be weakened. It is simply ceding land to the powerful Qin to make it more powerful and make the weak Zhao even weaker. Of course Qin won't stop conspiring against us. In addition, Qin is as covetous and brutal as wolf and tiger. It doesn't adhere to the principles of propriety and righteousness at all. Its cupidity is boundless, but Your Majesty's territory is limited. Meeting Qin's boundless greed with our limited territory will definitely lead to the destroy of the state of Zhao. So I said that this is the sophism of Lou Huan. Your Majesty, please make sure that you not take his advice." The king said, "I agree with you."

After Lou Huan heard this, he went to the palace to see the king. The king then told him about Yu Qing's viewpoint.



【原文】

其一，未知其二也。夫秦、赵构难而天下皆说，何也？曰：‘我将因强而乘弱。’今赵兵困于秦，天下之贺战者，则必尽在于秦矣。故不若亟割地求和，以疑天下、慰秦心。不然，天下将因秦之怒、（秦）赵之敝而瓜分之。赵且亡，何秦之图？王以此断之，勿复计也。”

虞卿闻之，又入见王曰：“危矣，楼子之为秦也！夫赵兵困于秦，又割地为和，是愈疑天下，而何慰秦心哉？是不亦大示天下弱乎？且臣曰勿予者，非固勿予而已也。秦索六城于王，王以五城赂齐。齐，秦之深仇也，得王五城，并力而西击秦（也），齐之听王，不待辞之毕也。是王失

【今译】

缓。楼缓说：“不是这样的。虞卿只知其一，不知其二。秦国和赵国交战，天下各国都很高兴，为什么呢？它们说：‘我们将依靠强大的一方，欺凌弱小的一方。’如今赵国军队为秦军所困，天下各国祝贺胜利的，一定都会站到秦国一方了。所以不如立即割让土地来寻求跟秦国和解，以此来让天下各国起疑心并且安抚秦王的心。不然的话，天下各国将会趁着秦国的愤怒、趁着赵国的疲弊而瓜分赵国。赵国即将灭亡了，还怎么图谋秦国？大王就这么决定了吧，不要再考虑了。”

虞卿听说了这件事，又进宫拜见赵王，说：“危险了，楼缓是为秦国着想啊。赵国军队被秦军围困，又割让土地寻求和解，这样一来，会更加重天下各国的疑心，却又怎能抚慰秦王的心呢？这不是大力向天下各国表明我们的虚弱吗？再说，我说不给秦国土地，并非不给它就算了。大王用五座城邑贿赂齐王。齐国和秦国之间有深仇大恨，它得到大王的五座城邑，与大王一起向西进攻秦国。齐国听从大王的命令，不用等到您把话说完。这样一来，大王把土地给了齐国，却能从秦国补偿



Lou Huan said, "That's wrong. Yu Qing knows a part of the thing, but ignores the whole. When Qin and Zhao engage each other, all the states in the world will become very glad. Why? Well, they'll say, 'We are going to take the side of the powerful state to override the weak.' Now the troops of Qin have triumphed over those of Zhao. All states wishing to congratulate the winner will take the side of Qin. Hence, you'd better cede land to Qin immediately to beguile other states and appease the state of Qin. Otherwise, other states in the world will take advantage of Qin's fury towards Zhao and Zhao's exhaustion, and annex your territory. If this is the case, Zhao will be ruined. How can you conspire against Qin? Please make up your mind and don't hesitate to cede these areas to Qin."

When Yu Qing heard of this, he went to the palace to see the king again and said, "Lou Huan will put our state under severe threat. Our troops have been defeated by those of Qin, and we are about to cede land to make peace with Qin. As a result, other states in the world will become more confused. So will we really appease Qin by doing so? Aren't we showing our weakness to other states by this action? Moreover, I said that we shouldn't cede these areas to Qin. I didn't only mean not ceding Qin the land. Qin demands six cities from you. But you can bribe the state of Qi with five cities. Qi bears deep hatred towards Qin. After gaining five cities from us, the king of Qi will join you in launching a concerted attack on Qin in the west even before you finish issuing the order. Thus what you lose to Qi can be



【原文】

于齐而取偿于秦，一举结三国之亲，而与秦易道也。”赵王曰：“善。”因发虞卿东见齐王，与之谋秦。

虞卿未反，秦之使者已在赵矣。楼缓闻之，逃去。

【今译】

回来，一举可以跟齐国、韩国和魏国结下友好关系，从而一起图谋秦国。”赵王说：“很好。”于是派虞卿向东去拜见齐王，跟他一起图谋秦国。

虞卿还没有返回，秦国的使者已经来到赵国了。楼缓听说了这件事，逃走了。

秦攻赵平原君使人求救于魏

【原文】

秦攻赵，平原君使人求救于魏。信陵君发兵至邯郸城下，秦兵罢。虞卿为平原君请益地，谓赵王曰：“夫不斗一卒，不顿一戟，而解（二）国患者，平原君之力也。用人之力而忘人之功，不可。”赵王曰：“善。”将益之地。公孙龙闻之，见平原君曰：“君无覆军杀将之功，而封以东武城。赵国豪杰之士，多在君之右，而君为相国者，以亲故。夫君封以东武城，

【今译】

秦国军队进攻赵国，平原君派人到魏国请求增援。信陵君派兵行进到邯郸城下，秦军停止进攻。虞卿为平原君请求增益封地，对赵王说：“不用一个士卒作战，没有磨损一件兵器，就解除了国家的危难，是平原君出的力啊。用别人的力却忘记了人家的功劳，不行。”赵王说：“好的。”将要增益平原君的封地。公孙龙听说了这件事，去见平原君，对他说：“您没有消灭敌军、斩杀敌人将领的功劳，却被封赐东武城。赵国的豪杰人物，功劳大都比您多，而您做相国，是因为您是大王的至亲。



reimbursed from Qin. Moreover, you can also win over the states of Qi, Han and Wei by taking this action, so that we can scheme against Qin together." The king of Zhao said, "This is a good idea." Then he sent Yu Qing to the east to meet the king of Qi to negotiate conspiring against Qin. Before Yu Qing returned to Zhao, messengers from Qin had already arrived in Zhao. When Lou Huan heard of this, he fled.

Qin Attacked Zhao and Lord Pingyuan Sent an Emissary to Wei to Ask for Reinforcements

The troops of the state of Qin attacked the state of Zhao. Lord Pingyuan sent an emissary to the state of Wei to ask for reinforcements. Lord Xinling dispatched his troops to the city of Handan. Then Qin stopped its military action. For this reason, Yu Qing asked the state of Zhao to enlarge Lord Pingyuan's fief, and he told the king of Zhao, "Lord Pingyuan's contribution is removing a severe threat to our state without we losing one single soldier or using one piece of weaponry. We should not ignore this contribution." The king said, "You are right." So he was about to enlarge Lord Pingyuan's fief. When Gongsun Long heard of this, he went to see Lord Pingyuan and said, "You have been conferred the region of eastern Wucheng without having annihilated any enemy troops or beheading any enemy generals. Most of the outstanding scholars in the state of Zhao are more meritorious than you. You have been appointed to be prime minister of



【原文】

不让无功；佩赵国相印，不辞无能。一解国患，欲求益地，是亲戚受封而国人计功也。为君计者，不如勿受便。”平原君曰：“谨受令。”乃不受封。

【今译】

封给您东武城，您不声称自己没有功劳而推辞掉；佩带赵国的相印，也不声称自己没有才干而推辞掉。一旦为国家解除危难，就想增益自己的封地，这样一来，王室的近亲就都会接受封地，并且国内的人都会评估自己的功绩而索要酬劳了。为您着想，不如不接受封地为好。”平原君说：“我会谨慎地按照您的吩咐行事。”于是没有接受封地。

秦赵战于长平

【原文】

秦赵战于长平，赵不胜，亡一都尉。赵王召楼昌与虞卿曰：“军战不胜，尉复死，寡人使卷甲而趋之，何如？”楼昌曰：“无益也，不如发重使而为媾。”虞卿曰：“夫言媾者，以为不媾者军必破，而制媾者在秦。且王之

【今译】

秦国和赵国的军队在长平交战，赵军没有取胜，有一个都尉阵亡。赵王召见楼昌和虞卿说：“我军不能在战争中取胜，都尉又丧生，我想让军队束紧铠甲袭击秦军，怎么样？”楼昌说：“没有用啊。不如派出重要的使臣跟秦国讲和。”虞卿说：“声称跟秦国讲和的人认为不讲和我军必



Zhao just because you are the closest relative of His Majesty. Now you have been conferred the region of eastern Wucheng. However, you won't reject it by declaring that you have made no contributions to the state. You hold the prime minister's seal. However, you won't give it up (referring to resignation) by declaring that you are incapable. Just because you have rescued the state from a severe threat, you want to enlarge your fief. As a result, His Majesty's relatives will all accept fiefs and people in the state will ask to be appointed to positions according to their contributions. For your sake, it would be better if you reject the fief." Lord Pingyuan said, "I will carefully follow your instructions." So he didn't accept the land conferred on him.

The Troops of Qin and Zhao Engaged Each Other in Changping

The troops of Qin and those of Zhao engaged each other in Changping. The latter were defeated and lost a high-ranking officer commanding one of Zhao's armies. The king of Zhao called in Lou Chang and Yu Qing and told them, "Our troops didn't win the war and we also lost a high-ranking officer. I want to order officers and men to tighten their armour and advance to attack the enemy. What do you think of that?" Lou Chang said, "It is of no use to do so. We'd better send important emissaries to Qin to negotiate a ceasefire with them." Yu Qing said, "Those advocating making peace with Qin believe that if we don't negotiate a



【原文】

论秦也，欲破王之军乎？其不邪？”王曰：“秦不遗余力矣，必且破赵军。”虞卿曰：“王聊听臣，发使出重宝以附楚、魏。楚、魏欲得王之重宝，必入吾使。赵使人楚、魏，秦必疑天下合从也，且必恐。如此，则媾乃可为也。”

赵王不听，与平阳君为媾，发郑朱入秦，秦内之。赵王召虞卿曰：“寡人使平阳君媾秦，秦已内郑朱矣。子以为奚如？”虞卿曰：“王必不得媾，军必破矣，天下之贺战胜者皆在秦矣。郑朱，赵之贵人也，而入于秦，秦王与应侯必显重以示天下。楚、魏以赵为媾，必不救王。秦知天

【今译】

定会被击破，而讲和的主动权却操纵在秦国手里。再说，大王认为秦国想攻破大王的军队还是不想呢？”赵王说：“秦国不遗余力，一定会击败赵军。”虞卿说：“大王如果能听我的，派使臣献出贵重的宝物来跟楚国和魏国交好，楚国和魏国想得到大王的宝贝，一定会接纳我们的使者。赵国的使者进入楚国和魏国，秦国一定会认为天下各国要联合起来对抗自己了，一定会很恐惧。这样一来，就可以跟它讲和了。”

赵王没有听从虞卿的建议，任用平阳君主持议和，派郑朱到秦国去，秦国让他入境。赵王召见虞卿，对他说：“我让平阳君跟秦国讲和，秦国已经让郑朱入境了。你认为怎么样？”虞卿说：“大王一定不能跟秦国讲和，我军一定会被击破，天下祝贺战争胜利的都在秦国了。郑朱是赵国尊贵的人，却到秦国去了，秦王和应侯一定会向天下展示此事来表明自己的显贵与重要。楚国和魏国以为赵国在跟秦国讲和，必定不会



ceasefire, our troops will be annihilated. However, whether or not a ceasefire can be reached is up to Qin. According to Your Majesty's opinion, do you think Qin aims at annihilating our troops or not?" The king said, "Qin spares no efforts defeating us. Therefore, it will definitely annihilate our troops." Yu Qing said, "If Your Majesty would take my advice, please send emissaries to present valuable treasures to the states of Chu and Wei to win them over. Chu and Wei long for Your Majesty's invaluable treasures, so they will let our emissaries enter their territory. If Zhao's emissaries enter Chu and Wei, Qin will definitely doubt that we are going to ally with other states of the world to confront it. Therefore, it will certainly be worried. If this is the case, it will agree to make peace with us."

The king of Zhao wouldn't listen to Yu Qing. He then sent Lord Pingyang to negotiate a ceasefire with Qin. And Zheng Zhu was also sent to Qin. Qin let Zheng Zhu enter its territory. The king of Zhao called in Yu Qing and said, "I have ordered Lord Pingyang to negotiate a ceasefire with the state of Qin, and Qin has allowed Zheng Zhu to enter its territory. What do you think of this?" Yu Qing said, "You are not be able to make peace with Qin. Our troops will definitely be defeated. Moreover, people are converging in the state of Qin to congratulate the winner. Zheng Zhu is a powerful person of our state. However, he has arrived in Qin. The king of Qin and Marquis Ying will definitely publicize his arrival to show Qin's power and authority to other states of the world. Chu and Wei will believe that we



【原文】

下不救王，则媾不可得成也。”赵卒不得媾，军果大败。王入秦，秦留赵王而后许之媾。

【今译】

援救大王。秦国知道天下各国不营救大王，讲和就根本不可能成功。”赵国最终不能跟秦国讲和，军队果然被严重地击败。赵王去了秦国，秦国扣留了赵王，而后答应跟他讲和。

秦围赵之邯郸

【原文】

秦围赵之邯郸。魏安釐王使将军晋鄙救赵，畏秦，止于荡阴，不进。魏王使客将军辛垣衍间入邯郸，因平原君谓赵王曰：“秦所以急围赵者，前与齐湣王争强为帝，已而复归帝，以齐故。今齐湣王已益弱，方今唯秦雄天下，此非必贪邯郸，其意欲求为帝。赵诚发使尊秦昭王为帝，秦

【今译】

秦国军队包围了赵国的邯郸，魏国的安釐王派晋鄙率领军队营救赵国。魏国军队害怕秦军，驻扎在荡阴，不敢前进。魏王派从别国到魏做官的将军辛垣衍偷偷来到邯郸，通过平原君对赵王说：“秦国之所以急于围攻赵国，是因为之前跟齐闵王互相竞争称帝，不久又取消了帝王的称号，是因为齐闵王废除帝王称号的缘故。如今齐国日益削弱，当今唯有秦国能够称雄天下，这个举动并非一定要贪图占领邯郸，秦国的意思是想争取称帝。如果赵国果真能派使者到秦国尊称秦昭王为帝，秦



are making peace with Qin, so they won't come to our rescue. When Qin realizes that other states won't come to our rescue, it won't make peace with us." Finally Zhao couldn't reach a ceasefire agreement with Qin, and as expected its troops were badly defeated. The king of Zhao went to Qin, where he was detained, and Qin agreed to make peace.

The Troops of Qin Besieged Zhao's Handan

The troops of the state of Qin besieged Zhao's Handan. King Anxi of the state of Wei sent Jin Bi to lead Zhao's troops to help Zhao confront the enemy troops. However, the troops of Zhao were afraid of the troops of Qin and therefore didn't dare advance, so they remained stationed in Dangyin. The king of Wei sent Xin Yuanyan, a guest general, to pay a secret visit to Handan. Xin explained his intentions to the king of Zhao through Lord Pingyuan as follows: "The reason that Qin sent its troops immediately to attack Zhao lies in the fact that the king of Qin vied with King Min of Qi to proclaim to be Di. Then he gave up the title shortly after he succeeded because King Min of Qi renounced his own. Now the state of Qi is becoming weaker and weaker. At present, Qin is the most powerful state in the world. So it is not that it wants to occupy the city of Handan but is that the king of Qin wants to proclaim to be Di instead. If Zhao sends an emissary to honour King Zhao of Qin as Di, he will definitely become very happy and therefore withdraw his army." Lord Pingyuan



【原文】

必喜，罢兵去。”平原君犹豫未有所决。

此时鲁仲连适游赵，会秦围赵，闻魏将欲令赵尊秦为帝，乃见平原君曰：“事将奈何矣？”平原君曰：“胜也何敢言事？百万之众折于外，今又内围邯郸而不能去。魏王使[客]将军辛垣衍令赵帝秦，今其人在是。胜也何敢言事？”鲁连曰：“始吾以君为天下之贤公子也，吾乃今然后知君非天下之贤公子也。梁客辛垣衍安在？吾请为君责而归之。”平原君曰：“胜请召而见之于先生。”平原君遂见辛垣衍曰：“东国有鲁连先生，其人在此，胜请为介绍而见之于将军。”辛垣衍曰：“吾闻鲁连先生，齐国之高士也。衍，人臣也，使事有职，吾不愿见鲁连先生也。”平原君曰：“胜已泄之矣。”辛垣衍许诺。

鲁连见辛垣衍而无言。辛垣衍曰：“吾视居(北)[此]围城之中者，

【今译】

王一定会非常高兴，就会撤兵。”平原君犹豫不决。

这时候鲁仲连恰好在赵国游历，碰上秦国军队围攻赵国。他听说魏国的将军想让赵国尊称秦王为帝，就去拜见平原君，对他说：“战事怎么样了？”平原君说：“我哪里还敢谈论战事呢？我们百万大军在外面被击溃，如今秦国军队又侵入我们境内，包围了邯郸，而我们却不能让他们撤军。魏王派辛垣衍将军来让赵国向秦国称帝。如今他人还在这里，我怎么敢谈论战事？”鲁仲连说：“开始我认为您是天下贤能的公子，直到现在才知道您并非天下贤能的公子。魏国使者辛垣衍在哪里？请让我替您指责他一番并让他回去。”平原君说：“请让我把他叫来见先生。”于是平原君去见辛垣衍，对他说：“从东方来的一名叫鲁仲连的先生，他人在我这里，请让我把他介绍过来跟将军您见个面。”辛垣衍说：“我听说鲁仲连先生是齐国高明的士人。我是做人臣子的，奉命出使，有公务在身。我不愿意见鲁仲连先生。”平原君说：“我已经告诉他您在这里了。”辛垣衍答应见鲁仲连。

鲁仲连见到辛垣衍却没有说话。辛垣衍说：“我发现住在这个围城



could not make up his mind what to do.

At that time, Lu Zhonglian happened to be paying a visit to the state of Zhao and witnessed the troops of Qin attacking Zhao. He heard that the general from the state of Wei wanted to persuade Zhao to honour the king of Qin as Di, so he went to see Lord Pingyuan and told him, "How is the war going?" Lord Pingyuan said, "I don't dare talk about the war. Our troops of one million soldiers have been badly defeated outside our state. Now the troops of Qin have besieged Handan and won't retreat. The king of Wei has sent general Xin Yuanyan here to ask our state to honour Qin's king as Di. The general is still here. How dare I talk about the war?" Lu Zhonglian said, "Previously, I considered you to be a wise and capable child of the world. Now I realize that I was wrong since you are not a wise and capable child as I once thought. Where is Xin Yuanyan, the general from the state of Wei? Please let me admonish him for you and send him back." Lord Pingyuan said, "I will call for him and let him meet you." Lord Pingyuan then went to see Xin Yuanyan and said, "There is a Mr Lu Zhonglian from the eastern areas. He is in my state. Please let me introduce him to you, General." Xin Yuanyan said, "I have heard about Mr Lu Zhonglian. He is an excellent scholar of the state of Qi. I am a court official of another state, and am here on a diplomatic mission. So I don't want to see Mr Lu here." Lord Pingyuan said, "I have already told him that you are here." So Xin Yuanyan agreed to meet Mr Lu.

When Lu Zhonglian met Xin Yuanyan, he didn't say



【原文】

皆有求于平原君者也。今吾视先生之玉貌，非有求于平原君者，曷为久居此围城之中而不去也？”鲁连曰：“世以鲍焦无从容而死者，皆非也。今众人不知，则为一身。彼秦者，弃礼义而上首功之国也，权使其士，虏使其民。彼则肆然而为帝，过而遂正于天下，则连有赴东海而死矣，吾不忍为之民也！所为见将军者，欲以助赵也。”辛垣衍曰：“先生助之奈何？”鲁连曰：“吾将使梁及燕助之，齐、楚则固助之矣。”辛垣衍曰：“燕则吾请以从矣。若乃梁，则吾乃梁人也，先生恶能使梁助之耶？”鲁连曰：“梁未睹秦称帝之害故也。使梁睹秦称帝之害，则必助赵矣。”

辛垣衍曰：“秦称帝之害将奈何？”鲁仲连曰：“昔齐威王尝为仁义

【今译】

中的人都是有求于平原君的。如今我观察先生的尊容，并不是有求于平原君的，为什么这么长时间停留在这个围城中而不肯离去呢？”鲁仲连说：“世人认为鲍焦是因为心胸狭窄才死的，都错了。现今世人不了解他，认为他是为了个人利益而丧生。秦国是一个摒弃礼仪与大义而崇尚斩首的功劳的国家，运用权谋役使士人，像对待俘虏一般役使老百姓。如果秦王肆无忌惮地称帝，进一步把自己的政令强加于天下各国，那我只有跳进东海淹死了。我不能忍受自己做他的子民。我之所以想见将军，是想帮助赵国。”辛垣衍说：“先生怎样帮助赵国呢？”鲁仲连说：“我将让魏国和燕国帮助赵国。齐国和楚国本来就在帮助赵国。”辛垣衍说：“我们已经请燕国听从我们的安排尊称秦王为帝了。至于说魏国，我自己就是魏国人，先生怎么能让魏国帮助赵国呢？”鲁仲连说：“那是因为魏国还没有看清楚秦王称帝的危害的缘故。假使魏国看清了秦王称帝的危害，就一定会帮助赵国了。”

辛垣衍说：“秦王称帝将会有有什么危害？”鲁仲连说：“从前齐威王曾



anything. Xin Yuanyan said, "I think that everyone here in this besieged city wants to ask Lord Pingyuan for a favour or help. However, judging from your appearance, it is unlikely that you are also here to ask the lord for help. Why have you stayed here for such a long time with no plan to leave?" Lu Zhonglian said, "Most people think that Bao Jiao died because he was too narrow-minded. That's wrong. Ordinary people don't understand him, so they consider him a selfish person. As for the state of Qin, it discards all the principles of benevolence and righteousness but regards the beheading of the people of enemy state as a prime policy. The king of Qin employs scholars with trickery and employs people as if they were captives. If he unscrupulously pronounces himself Di and furtherly continues to issue orders to all other states of the world, I will drown myself in the Eastern Sea. I could not bear to be a subject of his! The reason that I wanted to see you is that I hope to assist the state of Zhao." Xin Yuanyan asked, "How can you assist Zhao?" Lu Zhonglian said, "I am going to ask the states of Wei and Yan to help it. The states of Qi and Chu are already on its side." Xin Yuanyan said, "We have already ordered the state of Yan to honour the king of Qin as Di and Yan will listen to us. As for the state of Wei, I am from Wei myself. How can you make Wei support Zhao?" Lu Zhonglian said, "Liang has not realized the destructive consequence if the king of Qin pronounces himself Di. If Wei realizes that, it will definitely assist Zhao."

Xin Yuanyan asked, "What's the danger if the king of Qin proclaims to be Di?" Lu Zhonglian said, "Previously,



【原文】

矣，率天下诸侯而朝周。周贫且微，诸侯莫朝，而齐独朝之。居岁余，周烈王崩，诸侯皆吊，齐后往。周怒，赴于齐曰：‘天崩地坼，天子下席。东藩之臣田婴齐后至，则斲之。’威王勃然怒曰：‘叱嗟，而母婢也！’卒为天下笑。故生则朝周，死则叱之，诚不忍其求也。彼天子固然，其无足怪。”辛垣衍曰：“先生独未见夫仆乎？十人而从一人者，宁力不胜、智不若耶？畏之也。”鲁仲连曰：“然梁之比于秦，若仆耶？”辛垣衍曰：“然。”鲁仲连曰：“然吾将使秦王烹醢梁王。”辛垣衍怏然不悦，曰：“嘻，亦太甚

【今译】

经推行仁义，率领天下各国诸侯朝拜周天子。周天子贫困而且弱小，诸侯没有去朝拜的，唯独齐国去朝拜他。过了一年多时间，周烈王去世了，诸侯都去吊丧，齐威王是最后赶到的。周显王非常愤怒，派人向齐国报丧说：‘天子辞世，新即位的天子睡在草席上守丧。东部属地齐国的臣子田婴来晚了，就杀了他。’齐威王勃然大怒，说：‘呸！你妈是个奴婢。’最终被天下人所讥笑。在周烈王在世的时候前往朝拜他，死后却骂他，这是因为实在不能忍受周国的苛求的缘故。天子们本来就是这样的，不足为奇。”辛垣衍说：“先生难道就没有见过那些仆人吗？他们十个人伺候一个人，难道是力气不如主人大、智商不如主人高吗？是因为畏惧主人的缘故。”鲁仲连说：“这样说来，魏国相对于秦国如同仆人吗？”辛垣衍说：“是的。”鲁仲连说：“既然如此，我就让秦王煮熟魏王或



King Wei of Qi extended the principles of benevolence and righteousness and led sovereigns of all the states of the world to go to the court of the state of Zhou's sovereign to show their respect to him. Before that, the state of Zhou was poor and weak, and therefore no sovereign expected that the king of Qi would show his respect towards it. More than one year later, King Lie of Zhou died. All states' sovereigns went to condole the royal family but the king of Qi was the last one to arrive. The sovereign of Zhou was angry. He sent an obituary notice to Qi's king as follows: 'The Son of Heaven has passed away. And the current Son of Heaven is forced to sleep on a straw mat. Tian Ying, the court official of my eastern attachment, was the last to arrive and therefore should be beheaded.' King Wei of Qi was irritated and said, 'Oh! Your mother used to be a maid.' Thus he was derided by people all over the world. He went to the court to show respect to King Lie of Zhou when the king was alive, and then he reviled the king after his death because he could not tolerate the rebukes of Zhou's new sovereign. Sons of Heaven all behave that way. That's common." Xin Yuanyan said, "Haven't you seen the servants? Ten servants serve one master together. Aren't they as strong as the master physically? Aren't they as intelligent as the master spiritually? No. They are at his service because they are afraid of him." Lu Zhonglian said, "Regarding the relationship between the states of Wei and Qin, isn't Wei something of a servant to Qin?" Xin Yuanyan said, "Yes." Lu Zhonglian said, "Then I am going to ask the king of Qin to cook the



【原文】

矣，先生之言也！先生又恶能使秦王烹醢梁王？”

鲁仲连曰：“固也，待吾言之。昔者，鬼侯、鄂侯、文王，纣之三公也。鬼侯有子而好，故入之于纣，纣以为恶，醢鬼侯。鄂侯争之急，辩之疾，故脯鄂侯。文王闻之，喟然而叹，故拘之于牖里之车百日，而欲舍之死。曷为与人俱称帝王，卒就脯醢之地也？齐闵王将之鲁，[夷]维子执策而从，谓鲁人曰：‘子将何以待吾君？’鲁人曰：‘吾将以十太牢待子之君。’夷维子曰：‘子安取礼而来待吾君？彼吾君者，天子也。天子巡狩，诸侯

【今译】

者把他做成肉酱。”辛垣衍非常气愤，很不高兴地说：“嗨，你说的话也太过分了！你又怎么能让秦王煮熟魏王或者把他做成肉酱？”

鲁仲连说：“本来就是这样的，等我说给你听。从前，鬼侯、鄂侯和周文王是纣的三位最高级别的大臣。鬼侯有一个女儿很漂亮，所以就让她进宫给纣当妃子。纣认为她不好看，就把鬼侯做成了肉酱。鄂侯急急忙忙地争辩，所以就把鄂侯做成了肉干。文王听说这件事后，感慨地长叹，所以就把文王囚禁在羑里的监牢里长达一百天，还想让他死在那里。为什么跟人家都称王称帝，最终却落得被做成肉干或剁成肉酱的下场呢？齐闵王打算到鲁国去，夷维子拿着马鞭跟随着他，问鲁国人说：‘您打算怎么接待我们的国君？’鲁国人说：‘我准备用十太牢招待您的国君。’夷维子说：‘您根据什么礼节来款待我们的国君？我们的国君是天子。天子巡视境内，诸侯要把自己的宫殿让给天子居住，把钥匙交



king of Wei alive or make him into a meat pie." Xin Yuanyan was very unhappy and said, "What did you say! Haven't you gone too far, Sir? How could you make the king of Qin cook the king of Wei alive and put him into a meat pie?"

Lu Zhonglian said, "Of course I can. Please wait till I finish my words. Once Marquis Gui, Marquis E and King Wen were King Zhou's three highest-ranking court officials. Marquis Gui had a beautiful daughter, so he took her to the palace and presented her to Zhou. However, Zhou regarded her as ugly and therefore he made the marquis into a meat pie. Marquis E remonstrated with Zhou immediately. As a result, Zhou made him into dried meat. When King Wen heard this, he groaned sadly. So Zhou had him confined in a prison in Youli for as long as one hundred days and didn't care whether or not he was still alive. Why were they finally made into dried meat or meat pie after they had all served as high-ranking court officials? When King Min of Qi was about to escape to the state of Lu, Yi Weizi held a whip to drive his carriage and accompany him. Yi Weizi asked an official of the state of Lu, 'How will you play host to my sovereign?' The official of Lu said, 'I am going to serve your sovereign with ten Tailao (Tailao is used in important ceremonies. A Tailao consists of a pig's head, a sheep's head and a cow's head).' Yi weizi said, 'Which etiquette will you adopt to treat my sovereign? My sovereign is a Son of Heaven. When a Son of Heaven inspects his dependency, the sovereign of the dependency should leave the palace to make room for the Son of Heaven. He should surrender the key, raise the front of



【原文】

辟舍，纳（于）筦键，摄衽抱几，视膳于堂下，天子已食，退而听朝也。’鲁人投其籥，不果纳，不得入于鲁。将之薛，假涂于邹。当是时，邹君死，闵王欲入吊。夷维子谓邹之孤曰：‘天子吊，主人必将倍殡柩，设北面于南方，然后天子南面吊也。’邹之群臣曰：‘必若此，吾将伏剑而死。’故不敢入于邹。邹、鲁之臣，生则不得事养，死则不得饭含，然且欲行天子之礼于邹、鲁之臣，不果纳。今秦万乘之国，梁亦万乘之国。俱据万乘之国，交有称王之名，（赌）[睹]其一战而胜，欲从而帝之，是使三晋之大臣

【今译】

出来，提着衣襟搬放几案，在堂下伺候天子用餐，天子用餐完毕，他才退回去听候命令。’鲁国人把钥匙扔了，不让他们进入。不能到鲁国去，就打算去薛邑，途中路过邹邑。正当这个时候，邹国的国君去世了，闵王想前去奔丧。夷维子对邹国国君的遗孤说：“天子前来奔丧，主人必须把灵柩转移到相反的方向，把它从北面移到南面，然后天子可以面朝南吊丧。”邹国的群臣说：“如果一定要这么做，我们将集体自杀。”因此他们也不敢进入邹国。邹国和鲁国的群臣，活着的时候不能得到很好的供养，死后也不会举行饭含的葬礼。然而齐闵王想在邹国和鲁国行施天子之礼，终于没有被接纳。如今秦国是个拥有一万辆战车的国家，魏国也是一个拥有一万辆战车的国家。都是拥有一万辆战车的大国，都有称王的名分，看到秦国在一次战争中大获全胜，就想跟在它后面尊称它为帝，这就是让韩国、赵国和魏国的大臣比不上邹国和鲁国的仆人、



his robe to be able to carry and place tables and then serve the meal to the Son of Heaven. After the Son of Heaven finishes his meal, the sovereign should step backwards to take orders. ' The official of Lu threw his key away and refused to let them in. They could not take refuge in the state of Lu, so they traversed the state of Zou to go to Xue. At that time, the sovereign of Zou had just died. King Min wanted to condole the family of the deceased sovereign. Yi Weizi told the crown prince of Zou, 'Now the Son of Heaven will come to show his sympathy to you. Therefore, you should rearrange the coffin's position, shifting it from the south to the north, so that the Son of Heaven can condole you people towards the south. ' All the court officials of the state of Zou said, 'We are going to commit suicide together if we are forced to do this. ' Accordingly, they didn't dare enter Zou's territory. Court officials of the states of Zou and Lu were not well supported when they are alive. Nor would a ceremony be held to put some food or jade in their mouths during their funerals after they die. However, they forbade King Min of Qi to enter their states when the king wanted to be treated as Son of Heaven by them. Now both Qin and Wei are states with ten thousand chariots. They both have the might of a big and powerful state, and both sovereigns are qualified to be called King. Nonetheless, you are going to submit to Qin's authority and regard its king as Di only because Qin has gained a great victory in a bitter war. Therefore, you are making the high-ranking court officials of these three states—Han, Zhao and Wei less exalted than the menial people of the



【原文】

不如邹、鲁之仆妾也。且秦无已而帝，则且变易诸侯之大臣。彼将夺其所谓不肖，而予其所谓贤；夺其所憎，而与其所爱。彼又将使其子女谗妾为诸侯妃姬，处梁之宫，梁王安得晏然而已乎？而将军又何以得故宠乎？”

于是，辛垣衍起，再拜谢曰：“始以先生为庸人，吾乃今日而知先生为天下之士也。吾请去，不敢复言帝秦。”秦将闻之，为却军五十里。

适会魏公子无忌夺晋鄙军以救赵击秦，秦军引而去。于是平原君欲封鲁仲连。鲁仲连辞让者三，终不肯受。平原君乃置酒，酒酣，起，前，以千金为鲁连寿。鲁连笑曰：“所贵于天下之士者，为人排患、释难、

【今译】

贱妾。况且秦王一旦称帝成功，就会立即撤换各国诸侯的大臣。他将剥夺自己所认为不肖的大臣的职权，交付给他所谓的贤人；剥夺他所憎恨的人的财产，送给他所喜欢的人。他还会安排自己的女儿和善于谗媚的婢妾做诸侯的妃子，让她们居住在魏国的宫殿里，魏王怎能平安愉快呢？将军您又怎会受到宠信呢？”

于是，辛垣衍站起身来，拜了两次，道歉说：“开始我认为先生是个平庸之辈，直到今天才知道先生您是天下杰出的士人。我请求离去，不敢再提尊称秦王为帝的事情。”秦国的将领听说了这件事，为此向后退兵五十里。

恰好碰到魏国公子无忌夺得晋鄙手的军权，准备营救赵国、攻击秦国，秦国军队就撤兵离开了。于是平原君想赐封鲁仲连。鲁仲连再三推辞，始终不肯接受。于是平原君就摆了酒席款待鲁仲连。喝到畅快的时候，平原君起来，走上前用一千斤黄金为鲁仲连祝寿。鲁仲连笑着



states of Zou and Lu. In addition, shortly after the king of Qin proclaims to be Di, he is going to shuffle the high-ranking court officials of all the states. He will dismiss those he considers unworthy from office and appoint powerful positions to those he regards wise and capable. He will also deprive those he hates of possessions and present them to those he likes. Moreover, he will marry off his daughters, and send flattering and evil maids to sovereigns of other states. If such women are sent to the palace of the king of the state of Wei, how can the king enjoy a peaceful and comfortable life? How can you be cherished and trusted?"

Then Xin Yuanyan stood up, bowed twice to Lu Zhonglian and said, "Previously, I thought you were simply an ordinary person. Now I know you are an excellent scholar of the world. I will ask for permission to leave your state and won't dare ask you to regard the king of Qin as Di again." When the general of the troops of Qin heard that, he ordered his officers and men to retreat fifty *li*.

At that time, Childe Wu Ji of Wei seized power over the troops under general Jin Bi's leadership. He was going to attack the troops of Qin and assist Zhao. The troops of Qin retreated and left the city of Handan. After that, Lord Pingyuan was going to confer some land on Lu Zhonglian. But Lu Zhonglian rejected it many times. Then Lord Pingyuan held a banquet in Lu Zhonglian's honour. When the atmosphere of the banquet reached its zenith, the lord stood up, and walked up to Lu Zhonglian to propose a toast and wish him longevity. At the same time, he presented Lu



【原文】

解纷乱而无所取也。即有所取者，是商贾之人也，仲连不忍为也。”遂辞平原君而去，终身不复见。

【今译】

说：“天下士人最可贵的就是替别人排忧解难、消除纷乱而不要任何报酬。如果有所取，那就是商人了，我是不会做这种事情的。”于是告辞平原君离开了，一生都不曾再去见他。

说张相国

【原文】

说张相国曰：“君安能少赵人而令赵人多君？君安能憎赵人而令赵人爱君乎？夫胶漆，至黏也，而不能合远；鸿毛，至轻也，而不能自举。夫飘于清风，则横行四海。故事有简而功成者，因也。今赵万乘之强国也，前漳、滏，右常山，左河间，北有代，带甲百万，尝抑强齐，四十余年而秦不能得所欲。由是观之，赵之于天下也不轻。今君易万乘之强赵，而

【今译】

有人游说赵国的张相国说：“您怎能轻视赵国人，而让赵国人尊重您？您怎能憎恨赵国人，而让赵国人热爱您？胶和漆是最黏稠的东西，却不能把两个相距遥远的东西粘合在一起；羽毛是最轻的东西，却不能把自己飘举起来。乘着清风飞翔，就能在四海内横行。所以有的事情做起来很简单却能成功，是因为善于凭借有利形势的缘故。如今赵国是一个拥有一万辆战车的强国，前面有漳水和滏水，右边有常山，左边有河间，北面有代国，有一百万武装的军队，曾经控制着强大的齐国，使秦国在四十多年时间里不能实现自己扩张的愿望。由此看来，赵国在



Zhonglian with one thousand *yi* of gold. Lu Zhonglian smiled and said, 'Excellent scholars of the world are estimable because they settle all problems, rid others of all troubles and not ask for anything in return. If they want to be recompensed for their activities, they are nothing but merchants. I won't behave like a tradesman.' He then said good-bye to Lord Pingyuan, left and didn't visit the lord for the rest of his life.

Someone Had a Talk with Prime Minister Zhang

Someone had a talk with Prime Minister Zhang of the state of Zhao and said, "How can you make the people of the state of Zhao look up to you while you yourself look down on them? How can you make the people of the state of Zhao love you while you yourself hate them? Glue and lacquer are the most sticky materials. However, they cannot pull two things far from each other together. Feather is the lightest thing. Nonetheless, it cannot lift itself up, but it can travel all over the world with the help of the wind. Hence, if an objective situation can be made good use of, some undertakings can be easily fulfilled. Now Zhao is a powerful state with ten thousand chariots. It has the Zhangshui River and the Fushui River in the south, Mount Chang on its right side, the area of Hejian on the left, and the state of Dai in the north. It also has one million armoured troops. For more than forty years, it has been controlling the powerful Qi and preventing the state of Qin fulfilling its wish to encroach upon other states to



【原文】

慕思不可得之小梁，臣窃为君不取也。”君曰：“善。”自是之后，众人广坐之中，未尝不言赵人之长者也，未尝不言赵俗之善者也。

【今译】

天下的地位不容忽视。现在您轻视拥有一万辆战车的强大的赵国，却思慕您在那里不能得志的小小的魏国，我私下认为您这么做是不可取的。”张相国说：“说得好。”从这以后，在大庭广众之中，张相国没有不谈论赵国人的长处的，没有不谈论赵国风俗的优良的。

郑同北见赵王

【原文】

郑同北见赵王。赵王曰：“子南方之传士也，何以教之？”郑同曰：“臣南方草鄙之人也，何足问？虽然，王致之于前，安敢不对乎？臣少之时，亲尝教以兵。”赵王曰：“寡人不好兵。”郑同因抚手仰天而笑之，曰：“兵固天下之狙喜也，臣故意大王不好也。臣亦尝以兵说魏昭王，昭王亦曰：‘寡人不喜。’臣曰：‘王之行能如许由乎？许由无天下之累，故不

【今译】

郑同北上拜见赵王。赵王说：“您是南方博学多才的士人，对我有什么教导吗？”郑同说：“我是南方卑微的人，有什么值得问我？尽管如此，大王已经表达了这个意思，我怎敢不予回答呢？我小的时候，父亲曾经教我如何用兵。”赵王说：“我不喜欢用兵。”于是郑同拍着手仰起头笑了，说：“用兵固然是天下的大害，我本来就料想到大王不喜欢用兵了。我也曾经用用兵游说魏昭王，昭王也说：‘我不喜欢用兵。’我说：‘大王的品行能够跟许由一样吗？许由不想治理天下来拖累自己，所以



enlarge its own territory. From this point of view, the state of Zhao plays an important role in the world. However, you are not paying any attention to the powerful Zhao which possesses ten thousand chariots. You long for the weak and small Wei where you will not realize your goal. I personally think it is unwise for you to do so." Prime Minister Zhang said, "Very good." From then on, he would always talk about the strong points of the Zhao people and praise their excellent customs and conventions.

Zheng Tong Went to the North to See Zhao's King

Zheng Tong went to the north to see the king of the state of Zhao. The king said, "You are a knowledgeable person from the south. Do you have any advice for me?" Zheng Tong said, "I am a menial person from the south. How can a person like me be qualified to answer this question? Nevertheless, since Your Majesty has put this question to me, how dare I refuse to answer it? When I was young, my father taught me tactics." The king of Zhao said, "I don't like tactics." Zheng Tong clapped his hands, looked up towards the sky and laughed. Then he said, "Certainly military action is the biggest threat in the world. Of course I know that Your Majesty doesn't like it. I once talked about tactics with King Zhao of the state of Wei, and King Zhao also declared that he didn't like tactics. I said, 'Can Your Majesty behave like Xu You (did)? Xu You didn't want to burden himself with governing the world, so he refused to



【原文】

受也。今王既受先王之传，欲宗庙之安、壤地不削、社稷之血食乎？’王曰：‘然。’今有人操随侯之珠、持丘之环、万金之财，时宿于野，内无孟贲之威、荆庆之断，外无弓弩之御，不出宿夕，人必危之矣。今有强贪之国临王之境，索王之地，告以理则不可，说以义则不听。王非战国守圉之具，其将何以当之？王若无兵，邻国得志矣。”赵王曰：“寡人请奉教。”

【今译】

不接受天下。如今大王既然接受了先王传下来的王位，希望宗庙平安、国土不被侵削并能供奉对社稷之神的祭祀吗？’昭王说：‘是这样的。’现在假设有人拿着随侯的珍珠、持丘的玉环、上万镒的黄金，露宿荒野，本身没有孟贲的威猛和荆庆的果敢，又没有弓弩防身，不出一个晚上，必定会有人危害他了。如今假设有强大贪婪的国家的军队逼近大王的边境，索要大王的土地，跟他们讲道理，却讲不通；用道义劝说，他们却不听。大王如果没有攻守防御的措施，将如何抵挡敌军呢？大王如果不采取军事行动，邻国就会为所欲为了。”赵王说：“我接受您的教导。”

建信君贵于赵

【原文】

建信君贵于赵。公子魏牟过赵，赵王迎之，顾反至坐，前有尺帛，且

【今译】

建信君在赵国的地位很尊贵。魏国的公子牟路过赵国，赵王去迎接他，回宫后走到自己的座位旁，看见面前有一块一尺长的丝绸，就命



accept the world. Now Your Majesty has accepted the throne from the deceased sovereign. Don't you hope that the ancestral temple will be safeguarded, the territory won't be ceded, and deities both of the crops and of the Earth can be sacrificed to with freshly killed animals?' King Zhao said, 'Yes, I do.' Suppose there was a person carrying Marquis Sui's Pearl and the Jade Ring of Baiqiu, along with ten thousand *yi* of gold staying in the wild. If he was not as formidable as Meng Ben, or as determined as Jing Qing, nor could he carry a bow and arrows to defend himself, others would pose a severe threat to him the same night. If the troops of a powerful and covetous state were approaching Your Majesty's border and demanding land from you, they wouldn't stop their aggression even though you might try to reason with them. Nor would they listen to you if you exerted yourself to teach them the rules of righteousness. In this case, how could you confront them if you had no means of counterattacking them and defending your own state? If you don't take military action, neighbouring states will do whatever they like to your state." The king of Zhao said, "I will carefully follow your instructions."

Lord Jianxin Was Very Powerful in Zhao

Lord Jianxin was very powerful in the state of Zhao. When Childe Mou of the state of Wei passed through the state of Zhao, the king of Zhao went to welcome him in person. After they returned to the palace, the king approached his



【原文】

令工以为冠。工见客来也，因辟。赵王曰：“公子乃驱后车，幸以临寡人，愿闻所以为天下。”魏牟曰：“王能重王之国若此尺帛，则王之国大治矣。”赵王不说，形于颜色，曰：“先(生)[王]不知寡人不肖，使奉社稷，岂敢轻国若此？”魏牟曰：“王无怒，请为王说之。”曰：“王有此尺帛，何不令前郎中以为冠？”王曰：“郎中不知为冠。”魏牟曰：“为冠而败之，奚亏于王之国？而王必待工而后乃使之。今为天下之工，或非也，社稷为虚戾，先王不血食，而王不以予工，乃与幼艾。且王之先帝驾犀首而骖马服，以与秦角逐。秦当时适其锋。今王憧憧，乃辇建信以与强秦角逐，

【今译】

令工匠用它制作一顶帽子。工匠看见有客人来了，就避开了。赵王说：“公子屈尊光临我这里，希望听听您关于治理天下的见解。”公子牟说：“大王如果能像重视这一尺丝绸这样重视自己的国家，那大王的国家就会治理得很好了。”赵王不高兴了，并且在脸上表现出来，说：“先王不知道我很无能，让我接管国家，我哪敢如此轻视我的国家呢？”公子牟说：“大王不要恼火，请让我解释给大王听听。”他说：“大王有这一尺丝绸，为什么不让贴身郎中用它做帽子呢？”赵王说：“郎中不知道怎么做帽子。”公子牟说：“一顶帽子做坏了，对于大王的国家又有什么损害呢？然而大王一定要吩咐一个工匠去做。如今作为统治天下的工匠，如果用错了人，国家就会化为废墟，先王得不到祭祀。然而大王不把这事交给善于治理国家的人，却将国家交付给了宫内年轻英俊的男人。大王的先王任用犀首治理国家并且让马服君赵奢辅佐他，来跟秦国抗衡。秦国当时不敢跟赵国交锋。如今大王迷迷糊糊地任用建信君来跟秦国



seat and saw a piece of silk about one *chi* long in front of the seat. He was about to order a craftsman to make a hat with it. But when the craftsman saw the guest arriving, he left. The king said, "You have condescended to come to my palace. Please tell me how to govern the world." Childe Mou said, "If Your Majesty attach as much importance to your state as you do to the silk, your state can be put in perfect order." The king of Zhao was not happy, which could be seen from his face. He said, "Our deceased sovereign knew that I am unworthy. But he still devolved the state to me. How dare I treat the state like that?" Childe Mou said, "Your Majesty, please don't feel angry towards me. Let me explain it to you." He then continued, "Now you have this small piece of silk, why not ask the Langzhong (referring to the title of a kind of court official) to make a hat for you with it?" The king said, "The Langzhong doesn't know how to make a hat." Childe Mou said, "Although the Langzhong might make a mess of a hat, does that really cause any damage to your state? No. You can still appoint a craftsman to make the hat. But if the wrong person is appointed to govern the state, the state will be ruined, and the deceased sovereigns can no longer be sacrificed to with freshly killed animals. Nonetheless, instead of appointing the right people to govern your state, you have devolved it to some handsome young men. Previously, in order to confront the state of Qin, your deceased sovereign appointed Xi Shou to govern the state and also asked Lord Mafu to assist him. At that time, Qin didn't dare engage your troops. Now you are so muddle-headed that



【原文】

臣恐秦折王之椅也。”

【今译】

角逐，我担心秦国会毁掉大王乘坐的车子。”

卫灵公近雍疸弥子瑕

【原文】

卫灵公近雍(疸)[疸]、弥子瑕。二人者，专君之势以蔽左右。复涂侦谓君曰：“昔日臣梦见君。”君曰：“子何梦？”曰：“梦见灶君。”君忿然作色曰：“吾闻梦见人君者梦见日，今子曰梦见灶君而言君也，有说则可，无说则死。”对曰：“日，并烛天下者也，一物不能蔽也。若灶则不然，前之人炆，则后之人无从见也。今臣疑人之有炆于君者也，是以梦见灶君。”君曰：“善。”于是因废雍疸、弥子瑕而立司空狗。

【今译】

卫灵公亲近雍(疸)[疸]与弥子瑕。这两个人独揽国家大权来蒙蔽周围的人。复涂侦对卫灵公说：“前几天我梦见君了。”卫灵公说：“你做了什么梦？”他说：“我梦见灶神。”卫灵公愤怒地改变了脸色，说：“我听说梦见国君要说梦见太阳。如今你说梦见了灶神却称呼他为君，有理由还可以，没有道理就得处死。”复涂侦回答说：“太阳是照亮全天下的，没有任何东西能够遮蔽它。炉灶却不是这样的，一个人挡在它前面，那后面的人就不能看见它了。如今我怀疑有人遮挡在您前面，因此就梦见了灶神。”卫灵公说：“好。”于是趁机废黜了雍(疸)[疸]与弥子瑕，而任用司空狗。

或谓建信君之所以事王者

【原文】

或谓建信：“君之所以事王者，色也；葺之所以事王者，知也。色老

【今译】

有人对建信君说：“您用来侍奉大王的，是您美丽的相貌；葺用来侍



you have appointed Lord Jianxin to confront the powerful Qin for you. I am afraid that Qin will break your carriage."

Duke Ling of Wei Was Close to Yong Dan and Mizi Xia

Duke Ling of the state of Wei was close to Yong Dan and Mizi Xia. Through the power of the duke, these two men excluded other court officials from the truth. Futu Zhen told the duke, "I dreamed of Jun (referring to a sovereign) the other day." Duke Ling asked, "What appeared in your dream?" Futu Zhen said, "I dreamed of the Deity of the Kitchen." Duke Ling changed countenance angrily and said, "I heard that when one dreams about his sovereign, he should say that he dreams about the sun. Now you only dreamed of the Deity of Kitchen, but you addressed the deity Jun. If you have a reason for that, I will forgive you. If not, I will sentence you to death." Futu Zhen replied, "The sun lights everything in the world, and nothing can block up its rays. But the fire in the kitchen is not the same. If there is someone in front of it shielding its light, people behind that person cannot see any light at all. Now I doubt that there are some people beclouding you too, so I dreamed of the Deity of the Kitchen." Duke Ling said, "Very good." He then dismissed Yong Dan and Mizi Xia from office and assigned Sima Gou to govern the state.

A Man Told Lord Jianxin How to Serve the King

A man had a talk with Lord Jianxin and said, "You serve



【原文】

而衰，知老而多。以日多之知，而逐衰恶之色，君必困矣。”建信君曰：“奈何？”曰：“并骥而走者，五里而罢；乘骥而御之，不倦而取道多。君令葺乘独断之车，御独断之势，以居邯郸。令之内治国事，外刺诸侯，则葺之事有不言者矣。君因言王而重责之，葺之轴今折矣。”建信君再拜受命，入言于王，厚任葺以事能重责之。未期年而葺亡走矣。

【今译】

奉大王的，是他的智慧。容貌会随着年龄的增长而衰退，智慧会随着年龄的增长而增加。用一天天增进的智慧跟您逐渐衰退的容貌相角逐，您一定会陷入困境的。”建信君说：“那该怎么办呢？”那人说：“跟骥一同奔跑，跑五里路就疲惫不堪了；骑在它身上驾驭它，就不会疲倦而且能走更远的路。您让葺乘着独断的车子，掌握着独断的大权，呆在邯郸，让他在内处理国家大事，在外刺探诸侯的情况，那他做的事情肯定会有失败的。您趁机禀报大王并且严格要求他，他就完蛋了。”建信君拜了两拜接受教导，进宫告诉大王任用葺担当非常重要的任务并且严格要求他。没满一年，葺就逃亡了。

苦成常谓建信君

【原文】

苦成常谓建信君曰：“天下合从，而独以赵恶秦，何也？魏杀吕遗而

【今译】

苦成常对建信君说：“天下各国合纵，而大家唯独说赵国跟秦国关



His Majesty with your handsome features. Qi serve His Majesty with his wisdom. You will no longer look handsome when you become old. But wisdom will accumulate along with age. If you rely on your ever-declining appearance to compete with ever-growing wisdom, you will definitely find yourself in trouble." Lord Jianxin asked, "What shall I do then?" The man said, "If you race with a swift horse, you will become tired after running five *li*. However, if you ride on the back of the horse and guide it to gallop forward, not only will you not become tired, but you can also cover a long distance. If you let Qi stay in Handan to take charge exclusively of government affairs within the state and spy on other states, certainly he will make some mistakes. Therefore, you can report it to His Majesty and expressly demand that Qi perform his duties assiduously. Thus Qi will be in trouble." Lord Jianxin bowed twice to the man and agreed to follow his instructions. Then Lord Jianxin went to the palace to suggest that the king allocate to Qi extremely important duties and expressly demand him to perform them assiduously. As a result, Qi fled within a year.

Ku Chengchang Had a Talk with Lord Jianxin

Ku Chengchang had a talk with Lord Jianxin and said, "All the states in the world are now joining in Hezong (referring to the tactics of allying with each other to confront the state of Qin). However, people only mention that the state of Zhao is against the state of Qin. Why? When the



【原文】

天下交之。今收河间，(于)是与杀吕遗何以异？君唯释虚伪疾，文信犹且知之也。从而有功乎，何患不得收河间？从而无功乎，收河间何益也？”

【今译】

系不好，为什么呢？魏国杀死吕辽，天下人都笑话这件事。如今收复河间，这么做跟杀死吕辽有什么分别？即便您表面上放弃这一想法并且伪称自己有病在身，文信侯还是会知道的。假使合纵能够成功，还担心不能收复河间吗？假使合纵不能成功，收复河间又有什么用？”

希写见建信君

【原文】

希写见建信君。建信君曰：“文信侯之于仆也，甚无礼。秦使人来仕，仆官之丞相，爵五大夫。文信侯之于仆也，甚矣其无礼也。”希写曰：“臣以为今世用事者，不如商贾。”建信君悖然曰：“足下卑用事者而高商贾乎？”曰：“不然。夫良商不与人争买卖之贾，而谨司时。时贱而买，虽贵已贱矣；时贵而卖，虽贱已贵矣。昔者，文王之拘于牖里，而武王羈于

【今译】

希写拜见建信君，建信君说：“文信侯对我太无礼了。秦国派人来这里做官，我安排他们做相国，爵位是五大夫。文信侯对我也太无礼了。”希写说：“我认为现在的执政者不如商人。”建信君勃然大怒，说：“您瞧不起执政者，而抬高商人吗？”希写说：“不是这样的。好的商人不跟别人争究买卖货物的价格，而是小心谨慎地等待时机。货价低的时候买进，即便是贵的物品也便宜了不少；货价高的时候卖出，即便是卖得便宜也已经是高价了。从前，周文王被囚禁在羑里，武王被关押在玉



state of Wei sentenced Lü Liao to death, people all over the world derided it. Now if you reoccupy the area of Hejian, what's the difference between this decision and Wei's beheading of Lü Liao? Even if you declare that you will give up reoccupying Hejian due to your illness, Marquis Wenxin can still see through you. If Hezong results in success, why do you need to worry about not being able to reoccupy Hejian? If Hezong results in failure, will it be of any use to reoccupy Hejian?"

Xi Xie Visited Lord Jianxin

Xi Xie visited Lord Jianxin, and Lord Jianxin said, "Marquis Wenxin is very discourteous towards me. When the state of Qin recommends people to work for our government, I would appoint them to be prime minister or other high-ranking court officials. However, Marquis Wenxin is very discourteous towards me." Xi Xie said, "I think contemporary governors are not as good as merchants are." Lord Jianxin became very angry and said, "Are you looking down on governors but appreciating merchants?" Xi Xie said, "No. Good merchants won't bargain with customers about the price of goods. They will just wait for the right time. They buy commodities when their prices come down. Although some items might still be expensive, they are relatively cheap. They sell off these items when the prices go up. Although some items might still be cheap, he can still obtain some profits. Previously, King Wen was detained in



【原文】

玉门，卒断纣之头而县于太白者，是武王之功也。今君不能与文信侯相伉以权，而责文信侯少礼，臣窃为君不取也。”

【今译】

门，最终还是砍掉纣的脑袋并且悬挂在大白旗上，这是武王的功劳。如今您不能跟文信侯相抗衡，却指责文信侯无礼，我私下认为您这么做是不可取的。”

魏魑谓建信君

【原文】

魏魑谓建信君曰：“人有置系蹄者而得虎。虎怒，决蹠而去。虎之情，非不爱其蹠也，然而不以环寸之蹠害七尺之躯者，权也。今有国者，非直七尺之躯也。而君之身于王，非环寸之蹠也。愿公之熟图之也。”

【今译】

魏魑对建信君说：“有人设了一个捕捉野兽的套索，抓住一只老虎。老虎很生气，挣断爪子逃走了。按照老虎的本性，并非不爱惜自己的爪子，然而却不为了一寸大的爪子而葬送自己七尺的身子，这是权宜之计。如今拥有国家的君主不仅仅是七尺的身躯啊。而您的性命对于国君来说，还比不上一寸大的爪子对于老虎夹得重要。希望您仔细考虑我的话。”

秦攻赵鼓铎之音闻于北堂

【原文】

秦攻赵，鼓铎之音闻于北堂。希卑曰：“夫秦之攻赵，不宜急如此。”

【今译】

秦国军队进攻赵国，赵国摇动大铃报警的声音在北堂里都能听到。希卑说：“秦军进攻赵国，不应该这么急迫。这是内应召唤敌军的信号，



Youli, and King Wu used to be confined in Yumen. Nonetheless, King Zhou of the Shang Dynasty was finally beheaded and his head was hung on the top of a big white flag. This was attributed to the contribution of King Wu. Now you cannot match Marquis Wenxin in terms of power, but you condemn him for being discourteous. I personally don't think it is wise for you to do so."

Wei Jie Had a Talk with Lord Jianxin

Wei Jie had a talk with Lord Jianxin and said, "Once a man set up a rope trap and caught a tiger. The tiger was very angry, so it broke its paw and escaped. According to the nature of the tiger, it was not that it didn't cherish its paw. However, it wouldn't choose to sacrifice its seven-*chi*-long body for the sake of a one-*cun*-long paw. This is expediency. For a sovereign, his state is much more important than a seven-*chi*-long body. Regarding the value of your life to the sovereign, it cannot match that of the paw to the tiger. Please think about my words carefully."

Qin Attacked Zhao and the Sound of Alarm-bells Could be Heard in the Northern Hall

The troops of the state of Qin attacked the state of Zhao and the sound of the alarm-bells could be heard in the Northern Hall. Xi Bei said, "Although the troops of Qin are attacking our state, we shouldn't have reacted so rapidly.

【原文】

此召兵也，必有大臣欲衡者耳。王欲知其人，旦日赞群臣而访之，先言横者，则其人也。”建信君果先言横。

【今译】

大臣中必定有想连横的。大王想知道是谁，明天召见群臣咨询他们的意见，先提议连横的就是那个人了。”建信君果然率先提议连横。

齐人李伯见孝成王

【原文】

齐人李伯见孝成王。成王说之，以为代郡守。而居无几何，人告之反。孝成王方馈，不堕食。无几何，告者复至，孝成王不应。已，乃使使者言：“齐举兵击燕，恐其以击燕为名而以兵袭赵，故发兵自备。今燕、齐已合，臣请要其敝，而地可多割。”自是之后，为孝成王从事于外者，无自疑于中者。

【今译】

齐国人李伯去拜见孝成王，孝成王很欣赏他，让他做代郡的长官。然而没过多长时间，有人告李伯谋反。孝成王正在吃饭，却没有停下来而继续用餐。又过了没多久，报告李伯谋反的人又来了，孝成王不理睬他。又过了一些时候，李伯就派使者报告孝成王说：“齐国派兵进攻燕国，我担心它以进攻燕国为借口出兵攻打赵国，所以派兵自卫。如今燕国和齐国的军队已经开始交战，我请求拦截攻击两军中疲惫不堪的一方，就可以多分割一些土地。”从这以后，为孝成王在外面做事的人，没有在心中怀疑孝成王对自己的信任的。



This must be a signal for drawing enemy troops sent by a provocateur lurking among us. There must be a high-ranking court official advocating Lianheng. If Your Majesty wants to know who he is, you can hold court tomorrow and ask all the court officials for instructions. The one proposing Lianheng first must be the provocateur." As expected, Lord Jianxin advised joining Lian Heng first.

Li Bo from Qi Visited King Xiaocheng

Li Bo, a man from the state of Qi, paid a visit to King Xiaocheng of the state of Zhao. King Xiaocheng appreciated him very much and appointed him to be commanding officer of the province of Dai. Shortly after that, someone told the king that Li Bo would stir up a rebellion. King Xiaocheng was having a meal at that time, but he didn't stop eating. After a short period, the messenger came again, but King Xiaocheng didn't speak to him. After some time, Li Bo sent an emissary to report to the king as follows: "Recently, the state of Qi sent its troops to attack the state of Yan. I was afraid that they might launch military operations against our state in the name of attacking Yan. So I deployed our troops to safeguard our territory. Now the two armies of Yan and Qi have already engaged in warfare. Please allow me to attack the exhausted side, so that we can obtain more land." From then on, among all the officials and officers who were sent to work outside the capital, no one would doubt that the king was sceptical about his loyalty.



卷二十一 赵 四

为齐献书赵王

【原文】

为齐献书赵王，（使臣与复丑）曰：“臣一见，而能令王坐而天下致名宝，而臣窃怪王之不试见臣而穷臣也。群臣必多以臣为不能者，故王重见臣也。以臣为不能者非他，欲用王之兵成其私者也。非然，则交有所偏者也；非然，则知不足者也；非然，则欲以天下之重恐王，而取行于王者也。臣以齐循事王，王能亡燕，能亡韩、魏，能攻秦，能孤秦。臣以为齐致尊名于王，天下孰敢不致尊名于王？臣以齐致地于王，天下孰敢不致地于王？臣以齐为王求名于燕及韩、魏，孰敢辞之？臣之能也，其前

【今译】

有人替齐国献给赵王一封书信，说：“我谒见大王一面，就能让大王坐享天下各国送来的名贵宝物，但我私下纳闷，大王为何不召见我试试而是让我陷入困厄。一定是大多数大臣以为我无能，所以大王不愿见我。以为我无能的人没有别的原因，他们想利用大王的兵力来成就自己的私欲。如果不是这种情况，就是结交了别的国家，想替它们谋利；如果不是这种情况，就是他们不够明智；如果不是这种情况，就是想通过天下各国的威势恐吓大王，从而让大王按照他们的意愿行事。我让齐国恭顺地侍奉大王，大王能够消灭燕国，能够消灭韩国和魏国，能够进攻秦国，能够孤立秦国。我认为，如果齐国把尊贵的名号奉送给大王，天下各国君主还有谁敢不把尊贵的名号奉送给大王呢？我让齐国奉献土地给大王，天下各国君主还有谁敢不奉献土地给大王呢？我凭借着齐国为大王向燕国、韩国和魏国索取名贵的宝物，谁敢推辞呢？我



Book 21

The Fourth Volume on Zhao

Someone Sent a Letter to Zhao's King for Qi

On behalf of the state of Qi, someone sent a letter to the king of the state of Zhao and said, "If Your Majesty agree to meet me face to face, you will be able to obtain the most precious treasures from all over the world without any efforts. I wonder why you don't summon me to grant an interview to test my capability. I am sure that most of the high-ranking court officials regard me as incapable. So it is very difficult for me to see Your Majesty face to face. Those regarding me as incapable want to utilize Your Majesty's military forces to gain self-interest, or for the benefit of other states close to them. Perhaps they are not intelligent enough and want to threaten Your Majesty with the power of other states in the world, so that they can coerce you into acting according to their will. If I lead the state of Qi to serve Your Majesty humbly, you can ruin the states of Yan, Han and Wei, and invade the state of Qin as well as isolate the state of Qin. I think if Qi confers an honourable title on Your Majesty, no state in the world would dare refuse to confer this honourable title on Your Majesty. If I let Qi present some territory to Your Majesty, which state would dare refuse to cede territory to Your Majesty? With the power of Qi, if I demand famous treasures for Your Majesty from Yan,



【原文】

可见已。齐先重王，故天下尽重王；无齐，天下必尽轻王也。秦之强，以无齐之故重王，燕、魏自以无齐故重王。今王无齐，独安得无重天下？故劝王无齐者，非知不足也，则不忠者也。非然，则欲用王之兵成其私者也；非然，则欲轻王以天下之重取行于王者也；非然，则位尊而能卑者也。愿王之熟虑无齐之利害也。”

【今译】

的能力在于可以事先预见形势的发展。齐国率先尊崇大王，所以天下各国都会尊崇大王。如果没有齐国的支持，天下各国必定都会轻视大王。像秦那么强大的国家，因为没有齐国支持的缘故才重视大王，燕国和魏国自然也是因为没有齐国支持的缘故才重视大王。如今大王不跟齐国交好，怎能独自在天下受到重视？所以劝说大王跟齐国断绝关系的，不是不够明智，就是不忠于大王。如果不是这种情况，就是想利用大王的兵力为自己谋私利；如果不是这种情况，就是想通过天下各国的威势让大王按照他们的意愿行事；如果不是这种情况，就是他们是地位尊贵但是能力低下的人。希望大王仔细考虑跟齐国绝交的利害。”

齐欲攻宋

【原文】

齐欲攻宋，秦令起贾禁之。齐乃掠赵以伐宋。秦王怒，属怨于赵。李兑约五国以伐秦，无功，留天下之兵于成皋，而阴构于秦。又欲与秦

【今译】

齐国想进攻宋国，秦国让起贾去制止这件事。于是齐国拉拢赵国来攻打宋国。秦王生气了，跟赵国结怨。李兑联合韩、赵、魏、燕、齐五个国家一起攻打秦国，没有取胜，让这几个国家的联军驻扎在成皋，并



Han and Wei, how dare they refuse? My capability is to foresee the development of situations. If Qi attaches importance to Your Majesty, all other states in the world will also attach importance to Your Majesty. If you lose the support of Qi, they will all look down upon you. As powerful as the state of Qin is, it attaches importance to you because it hasn't established ties with Qi. Yan and Wei attach importance to you because they haven't yet won over Qi. Now if Your Majesty cannot win over Qi, how can other states attach importance to you only? So, those persuading you to cut off ties with Qi are either not intelligent enough or not loyal to you. Or they just want to utilize Your Majesty's military forces to benefit themselves. Perhaps, they also want to threaten you with the power of other states in the world to coerce you into acting according to their own will. Or they may be very incapable people holding extremely powerful positions. I hope that Your Majesty carefully weigh the advantages and disadvantages of winning over Qi."

Qi Was About to Attack Song

The state of Qi was about to attack the state of Song, so the state of Qin sent Qi Gu to stop it. Qi then consorted with the state of Zhao to assault Song. The king of Qin was irritated and became very bitter towards Zhao. Li Dui allied with five states—Han, Zhao, Wei, Yan and Qi to attack Qin but couldn't win the war. He ordered the allied forces to be stationed in Chenggao, and secretly made peace with Qin.



【原文】

攻魏，以解其怨而取封焉。

魏王不说。[苏秦]之齐，谓齐王曰：“臣为足下谓魏王曰：‘三晋皆有秦患。今之攻秦也，为赵也。五国伐赵，赵必亡矣。秦逐李兑，李兑必死。今之伐秦也，以救李子之死也。今赵留天下之甲于成皋，而阴鬻之于秦，已讲，则令秦攻魏以成其私封，王之事赵也何得矣？且王尝济于漳而身朝于邯郸，抱阴成，负（蒿）葛藟[孽]，以为赵蔽，而赵无为王行也。今又以何阳、姑密封其子，而乃令秦攻王，以便取阴。人比然而后如贤不，如王若用所以事赵之半收齐，天下有敢谋王者乎？王之事齐

【今译】

暗中跟秦国讲和。又打算跟秦国一起进攻魏国，来缓解秦国的怨恨并且为自己争取封地。

魏王很不高兴。苏秦来到齐国，对齐王说：“我替您对魏王说：‘韩国、赵国和魏国都面临着秦国的威胁。目前进攻秦国是为了赵国。如果五个国家一同进攻赵国，赵国必定会灭亡。如果秦国驱逐李兑，李兑必死无疑。如今进攻秦国，是为了将李兑从死亡的威胁下解救出来。如今赵国将天下各国的军队驻扎在成皋，却暗中把他们出卖给了秦国，讲和后，李兑就让秦国进攻魏国，来促成他私人的封地。大王侍奉赵国又得到了什么呢？况且大王曾经渡过漳水，亲自到邯郸去朝拜赵王，把阴成与葛藟割让给赵国，作为它的屏蔽，然而赵国却没有为大王做过什么。如今又要把何阳和姑密封给李兑的儿子，而且还让秦国进攻大王，以便夺取阴。把人进行比较，然后才能分辨出谁贤、谁不肖。如果大王拿用来侍奉赵国的一半来结交齐国，天下还有谁敢图谋大王？大王侍



Then in order to appease Qin and establish his own fief, Li Dui planned to unite with Qin to attack the state of Wei.

The king of Wei was unhappy about that. Su Qin went to the state of Qi and told Qi's king, "On behalf of Your Majesty, I will send this message to the king of the state of Wei as follows: 'Han, Zhao and Wei, the three states that used to belong to the state of Jin, are all under the threat of the state of Qin. Now they are attacking Qin on behalf of the state of Zhao. If Han, Zhao, Wei, Yan and Qi build up an alliance to attack Zhao, Zhao will definitely be defeated. If Qin expels Li Dui from Zhao, Li Dui will certainly lose his life. Now they are attacking Qin to rescue Li Dui. Recently, Zhao has stationed the allied forces in Chenggao, but secretly betrayed them to Qin. After Zhao had made peace with Qin, in order to establish his private fief, Li Dui asked the troops of Qin to attack Wei. Your Majesty served the state of Zhao, but what has Zhao done for you in return? Moreover, Your Majesty once crossed the Zhangshui River and went to Handan to pay homage to Zhao's king in person. You also ceded the regions of Yincheng and Genie to Zhao as barriers against aggression. However, Zhao hasn't done anything for you. Now you are going to confer the areas of Heyang and Gumi on Li Dui's son. However, Li Dui is ordering the troops of Qin to attack you, so that he can obtain the area of Yin. Whether one is worthy or unworthy can only be judged by comparing him with others. If Your Majesty can use half of what you have done for Zhao to serve Qi, how dare anyone in the world conspire against you? By serving Qi, you won't



【原文】

也，无人朝之辱，无割地之费。齐为王之故，虚国于燕、赵之前，用兵于二千里之外，故攻城野战，未尝不为王先被矢石也。得二都，割河东，尽效之于王。自是之后，秦攻魏，齐甲未尝不岁至于王之境也。请问王之所以报齐者可乎？韩珉处于赵，去齐三千里，王以此疑齐，曰有秦阴。今王又挟故薛公以为相，善韩徐以为上交，尊虞商以为大客，王固可以反疑齐乎于？’魏王听此言也甚诎，其欲事王也甚循。（其）[甚]怨于赵。臣愿王之（曰）[日]闻魏而无庸见恶也，臣请为王推其怨于赵。愿王之阴重赵，而无使秦之见王之重赵也。秦见之且亦重赵。齐、秦交重赵，

【今译】

奉齐国，不会有到赵国朝拜的屈辱，不会有割让土地的破费。齐国为了大王的缘故，会派出全部军队逼近燕国和赵国，让军队在距离自己的国家两千多里的地方开战，所以无论攻城还是野战，没有不为大王冒着敌人的弓箭与兵器打前锋的。获得两座城邑，占领河东，都进献给大王。从此以后，秦国进攻魏国，齐国没有一年不派兵到大王境内增援的。请问大王有可以报答齐国的地方吗？韩珉在赵国的时候，离齐国三千里，大王因此而怀疑齐国，说它跟秦国暗中勾结。如今大王又让从前的薛公做相国，善待韩徐，把他作为最好的朋友，尊重虞商，把他视为贵客，大王还可以反过来怀疑齐国吗？’魏王听到这番话，一定会觉得理屈，他就会非常顺从地侍奉大王，就会对赵国充满怨恨。我希望大王每天能听听来自魏国的消息，而不要厌恶它，请让我为大王把魏国的怨恨转移到赵国头上。希望大王暗地里多多结交赵国，但不要让秦国看出大王在大力地结交赵国。秦国发觉了也会大力地结交赵国。如果齐国和秦



suffer the humiliation of travelling to Qi's court in person to pay homage to Qi's king. Nor will you need to cede any land to it. On behalf of Your Majesty, Qi used to dispatch all officers and men to approach Yan and Han. Battles were fought more than two thousand *li* away from their own state. Hence, whether assaulting enemy cities or fighting in the open, the troops of Qi would always risk their lives to fight in the van for Your Majesty. After seizing two cities and taking over the area east of the Yellow River, they presented all of them to you. Ever since then, Qi has sent troops to defend your state every year. But what have you done for Qi in return? When Han Min was in the state of Zhao, he was three thousand *li* away from Qi. However, Your Majesty was sceptical about Qi because of this and also declared that Qi had united secretly with the state of Qin. At present, you have appointed the former lord of Xue to be prime minister of your state. You are very close to Han Xu and regard him as your best friend, as well as honour Yu Shang as the most respected guest. How can you really be so sceptical about Qi?' When the king of Wei hears these words, he will feel sorry. As a result, he will serve Your Majesty humbly. Then he will be bitter towards the state of Zhao. I hope that Your Majesty can listen to the news from the state of Wei every day and do not feel displeased by it. Please let me shift the state of Wei's hatred onto the state of Zhao for you. I hope that Your Majesty can secretly establish good relations with Zhao, but do not let the state of Qin know. If Qin realizes that you are trying to establish good relations with Zhao, it will



【原文】

臣必见燕与韩、魏亦且重赵也，皆且无敢与赵治。五国事赵，赵从亲以合于秦，必为王高矣。臣故欲王之偏劫天下而皆私甘之也。王使臣以韩、魏与燕劫赵，使丹也甘之；以赵劫韩、魏，使臣也甘之；以三晋劫秦，使顺也甘之；以天下劫楚，使珥也甘之。则天下皆偪秦以事王，而不敢相私也。交定，然后王择焉。”

【今译】

国都大力地结交赵国，我预见燕国跟韩国和魏国也将会大力地结交赵国，那就都不敢跟赵国抗衡了。如果五个国家都侍奉赵国，赵国伙同它们再跟秦国联合，那它的地位必定会高于大王了。所以我希望大王普遍威胁天下各国，而后再分别秘密派人用甜言蜜语游说它们。大王派我用韩国、魏国和燕国威胁赵国，再派丹用甜言蜜语游说它；用赵国威胁韩国和魏国，派我用甜言蜜语游说它；用韩国、赵国和魏国威胁秦国，派顺用甜言蜜语游说它；用天下各国威胁楚国，派珥用甜言蜜语游说它。那天下各国都会威逼秦国并且侍奉大王，还不敢互相谋私。跟它们的交情确立了以后，大王再作选择。”

齐将攻宋而秦楚禁之

【原文】

齐将攻宋，而秦、楚禁之。齐因欲与赵，赵不听。齐乃令公孙衍说

【今译】

齐国将要攻打宋国，但是秦国和楚国制止了它。于是齐国想跟赵国一起攻打宋国，赵国没有听从。齐王就让公孙衍劝说李兑进攻宋国



imitate you. If both Qi and Zhao establish good relations with Zhao, I can surely foresee that the states of Yan, Han and Wei will also try to do their best to win over Zhao. Thus none of them will dare confront Zhao. If all these five states plan to win over Zhao, Zhao will build an alliance with them as well as the state of Qin. Thus Zhao's king will definitely become more powerful and influential than Your Majesty. So, I hope that Your Majesty can pose a threat to all other states of the world and then send somebody to flatter each of them. You can order me to ally with Han, Wei and Yan to threaten Zhao, then ask Dan to persuade Zhao with blandishments. Use Zhao to threaten Han and Wei, then send me to persuade the latter with blandishments. Manipulate Han, Zhao and Wei to threaten Qin, then send Shun to persuade Qin with blandishments. Ally with all other states of the world to threaten the state of Chu, then send Min to persuade Chu with blandishments. As a result, all the other states of the world will threaten Qin and serve you. And they won't dare take advantage of you. After you establish good relations with them, you can make your own decision in choosing your allies."

Qi Was About to Attack Song but Qin and Chu Prevented It

The state of Qi was about to attack the state of Song, but the state of Qin and the state of Chu prevented Qi's military action. Qi then wanted to unite with the state of Zhao to assault Song, but Zhao didn't take Qi's advice. Qi



【原文】

李兑以攻宋而定封焉。李兑乃谓齐王曰：“臣之所以坚三晋以攻秦者，非以为齐得利秦之毁也，欲以使攻宋也。而宋置太子以为王，下亲其上而守坚，臣是以欲足下之速归休士民也。今太子走，诸善太子者，皆有死心。若复攻之，其国必有乱，而太子在外，此亦举宋之时也。

“臣为足下使公孙衍说奉阳君曰：‘君之身老矣，封不可不早定也。为君虑，封莫若于宋，他国莫可。夫秦人贪，韩、魏危，燕、楚辟，中山之地薄，莫如于阴。失今之时，不可复得已。宋之罪重，齐之怒深，残乱宋，得大齐，定身封，此百代之一时也。’奉阳君甚食之，唯得大封，齐

【今译】

来确立自己的封地。于是李兑对齐王说：“我之所以坚决支持韩国、赵国和魏国攻打秦国，并非认为秦国的毁灭会对齐国有利，而是想为攻打宋国提供便利。然而宋国把太子立为王，民众亲附君主而且防守坚固，因此我希望您赶快将士民召回，让他们休整。如今太子逃亡，那些跟太子亲近的人都抱定了必死的决心。假如再进攻它，它国内必定出现大乱，而且太子在国外，这也是灭掉宋国的时机。

“我替您让公孙衍游说奉阳君道：‘您的年纪已经很大了，不可以不早点把封地确定下来啊。为您着想，封地没有能比得上宋国的，其他国家都不行。秦国人很贪婪，封地在韩国和魏国就有危险；燕国和楚国很偏远，中山国的土地很贫瘠，没有哪里比得上阴。失去了眼前的时机，就不可以再得到了。宋国罪孽深重，齐国非常愤怒。摧毁混乱的宋国，给予齐国巨大的恩惠，确定自己的封地，这是百代难逢的机会啊。’奉阳



then asked Gongsun Yan to persuade Li Dui to attack Song so as to establish his fief. Li Dui then had a talk with the king of Qi and said, "The reason why I firmly support Han, Zhao and Wei to attack Qin is not that I think Qi can benefit from the destruction of the state of Qin, but that I want to facilitate attacking Song by doing so. However, Song has designated the crown prince to be its new king. The subjects are very close to the king, and they are on high alert to defend their state. So, I want you to withdraw your officers and men and let them rest. Now the crown prince (referring to the newly enthroned king of Song) has fled. Those close to him will all fight to the death for his sake. If you attack Song again, that state will be in chaos. Since the crown prince is still abroad, this is the right time to attack and ruin Song."

He continued, "I will ask Gongsun Yan to persuade Lord Fengyang for you as follows: 'Now that you are very old, you should establish your fief as soon as possible. For you, the best location of your fief should be in the state of Song, and no other state is as suitable in this regard. The people of the state of Qin are covetous, so if you choose the state of Han or the state of Wei, your fief will be in danger. The state of Yan and the state of Chu are too far from Zhao. And the land of the state of Zhongshan is barren. No other place can match the region of Yin. If you lose this opportunity now, you will regret it for ever. The state of Song is sinful, and the state of Qi is very angry with it. Destroying the chaotic Song is doing a favour to the big Qi. This is the right time to take action and establish your own fief. It only comes



【原文】

无大异。臣愿足下之大发攻宋之举，而无庸致兵，姑待已耕，以观奉阳君之应足下也。县阴以甘之，循有燕以临之，而臣待忠之封，事必大成。臣又愿足下有地效于襄安君以资臣也。足下果残宋，此两地之（时）[封]也，足下何爱焉？若足下不得志于宋，与国何敢望也？足下以此资臣也，臣循燕观赵，则足下击溃而决天下矣。”

【今译】

君非常贪婪，一心得到广大的封地，但对齐国没有太大的妨害。我希望您大力进攻宋国，而不要招致别国的进攻，来观察奉阳君会对您作出什么反应。用阴利诱他，随同燕国一起威逼赵国，而我会忠心促成他得到封地，事情一定会大获成功。我又希望您进献土地给襄安君来帮助我。您若果真能摧毁宋国，就能确定两块封地。您还有什么舍不得的吗？如果您不能战胜宋国，盟国怎敢指望战胜它呢？您用这来协助我，我顺从燕国、观察赵国，您就可以击溃宋国并且决胜天下了。”

五国伐秦无功

【原文】

五国伐秦，无功，罢于成皋。赵欲构于秦，楚与魏、韩将应之，秦弗欲。苏（代）[秦]谓齐王曰：“臣以为足下见奉阳君矣。臣谓奉阳君曰：‘天下散而事秦，秦必据宋，魏冉必妒君之有阴也。秦王贪，魏冉妒，则

【今译】

韩国、赵国、魏国、燕国与齐国五个国家一起进攻秦国，没有取胜，在成皋休战。赵国想跟秦国讲和，楚国跟魏国和韩国准备答应议和，齐国不同意。苏秦对齐王说：“我已经为您见过奉阳君了。我对奉阳君说：‘天下各国联盟解散而争相侍奉秦国，秦国必然会占领宋国，魏冉一定会嫉妒您占有阴地。秦王很贪婪，魏冉好嫉妒别人，那您就不可能占



once in a hundred generations.' Lord Fengyang is very greedy. He only wants to gain a large fief, but this is nothing to the state of Qi. I hope that you can launch attacks on Song's horse and foot instead of suffering aggression. Then you can observe Lord Fengyang's reaction to you. You can promise to present him with the region of Yin to tempt him, and ally with Yan to approach Zhao. I will facilitate him obtaining the fief. It will definitely result in success. I also want you to present some land to Lord Xiang'an to assist my work. If you really defeat Song, they both can gain their fiefs. Why do you hesitate? If you cannot defeat Song, how can your allied states defeat it? If you help me in this regard, I will ally with Yan and scrutinize Zhao for you. Thus you can defeat Song and take control of the whole world."

Five States Attacked Qin but Failed to Defeat It

Five states—Han, Zhao, Wei, Yan and Qi attacked the state of Qin together but couldn't defeat it. The allied forces stopped in Chenggao. The state of Zhao was about to make peace with Qin. Chu, Wei and Han also agreed. The state of Qi disagreed. Su Qin had a talk with the king of Qi and said, "I have already seen Lord Fengyang on your behalf. I told Lord Fengyang, 'If the alliance built by those states of the world disbands, these states will all turn to establishing good relations with the state of Qin. Qin will occupy the state of Song, and Wei Ran will be jealous of you due to your fief in Yin. The king of Qin is covetous, and Wei Ran is jealous, so



【原文】

阴不可得已矣。君无构，齐必攻宋。齐攻宋，则楚必攻宋，魏必攻宋，燕、赵助之。五国据宋，不至一二月，阴必得矣。得阴而构，秦虽有变，则君无患矣。若不得已而必构，则愿五国复坚约。愿得赵，足下雄飞，与韩氏大吏东免齐王，必无召咤也。使臣守约，若与有倍约者，以四国攻之；无倍约者，而秦侵约，五国复坚而宾之。今韩、魏与齐相疑也，若复不坚约而讲，臣恐与国之大乱也。齐、秦非复合也，必有畸重者矣。后合与畸重者，皆非赵之利也。且天下散而事秦，是秦制天下也。秦制

【今译】

据阴了。如果您不讲和，齐国必定会进攻宋国。如果齐国进攻宋国，那楚国必定会进攻宋国，魏国一定会进攻宋国，燕国和赵国会助战。五个国家占领宋国后，不到一两个月，就一定能得到阴地了。得到阴以后再讲和，秦国即便有变故，您也没有忧患了。如果不得已一定要讲和，那就希望这五个国家重新坚决地联合起来。五国愿意跟赵国亲善，您施展宏韬大略，跟韩国的大臣一起向东勉励齐王推行合纵策略，齐王就必定不会将咤召回了。让我监督盟约的执行，假如盟国中有背叛盟约的，就让其他四个国家进攻它。如果没有背叛盟约的，而秦国侵犯盟国，五个国家就坚决一致地对抗它。如今韩国和魏国跟齐国之间互相有疑心，假如不坚守盟约而跟秦国讲和，我担心盟国会出现大乱。齐国和秦国如果不重新联合，必定会有一方偏重。推后联合或者出现一方偏重的局面，对赵国都是不利的。而且，天下各国解除联盟而去侍奉秦国，秦国就控制了天下。秦国控制天下，您还怎么争夺天下？我希望您早



you certainly won't be able to maintain the area of Yin. If you don't make peace with Qin, Qi will definitely attack Song. If the troops of Qi attack Song, the state of Chu as well as the state of Wei will definitely attack Song, and both the state of Yan and the state of Zhao will assist them. If these five states occupy Song, they will be able to obtain Yin within one or two months. If they make peace with Qin after obtaining Yin, even though Qin might cause some problems, you will be free from trouble. If there is no other choice and you are forced to make peace with Qin, I hope that these five states will build a firm alliance again. If they want to win over your state, you can push your great plans and unite with the high-ranking officials of the state of Han to encourage the king of the state of Qi in the east. Then he won't call Min back. You can let me supervise the enforcement of the agreement signed by these states. If any one of them dares breach the agreement, the other four states will attack it together. If none of them breaches the agreement, no matter which state is invaded by the state of Qin, these five states will build a fierce force to confront Qin. Now Han, Wei and Qi are mistrustful of one another. If they make peace with Qin instead of being firmly allied, I am afraid that these allied states will be in severe chaos. If Qi and Qin don't unite with each other, one of them will outdo the other. Whether they ally with each other or not, the state of Zhao cannot benefit. Moreover, if these states disband the alliance to establish good relations with Qin, Qin will control the whole world. If this is the case, how could they take over the world? I hope



【原文】

天下，将何以天下为？臣愿君之蚤计也。

“天下争[事]秦，[秦]有六举，皆不利赵矣。天下争[事]秦，秦王受负海（内）之国，合负亲之交，以据中国，而求利于三晋，是秦之一举也。秦行是计，不利于赵，而君终不得阴，一矣。天下争[事]秦，秦王内韩珉于齐，内成阳君于韩，相魏怀于魏，复合（衍）[横]，交两王，王赧、韩他之曹皆起而行事，是秦之一举也。秦行是计也，不利于赵，而君又不得阴，二矣。天下争[事]秦，秦王受齐受赵，三疆三亲，以据魏而求安邑，是秦之一举也。秦行是计，齐、赵应之，魏不待伐，抱安邑而信秦。秦得安邑之饶，魏为上交，韩必入朝，秦过赵已安邑矣，是秦之一举也。

【今译】

点拿定主意。

“天下各国争相侍奉秦国，秦国有六种举动，都不利于赵国。天下各国争相侍奉秦国，秦王就会接受沿海的齐国，跟曾经背叛他的国家交好，来遏制中原各国，从而向韩国、赵国和魏国索取利益，这是秦国的一个举动。秦国推行这个方案，不利于赵国，而您最终不能得到阴地，这是其一。天下各国争相侍奉秦国，秦王就会让韩珉到齐国，让成阳君到韩国，让魏怀做魏国相国，重新组织连横，王赧、韩他等人都会为他做事，这是秦国的一个举动。秦国推行这个方案，不利于赵国，而您又不能得到阴地，这是其二。天下各国争相侍奉秦国，秦王就会接受齐国和赵国，这三个强大的国家互相亲善，就会要挟魏国并索要安邑，这是秦国的一个举动。秦国推行这个方案，齐国和赵国顺应它，魏国不用等到被攻伐就会献上安邑以增益秦国。秦国得到富饶的安邑，跟魏国关系



that you can meditate on this situation as early as possible.

"If all the states in the world vie with each other to win over Qin, Qin will have six choices. And none of them is advantageous to the state of Zhao. If these states vie with each other to win over Qin, Qin might establish ties with the coastal state—Qi, unite with those once turned against it and so take control of the central part of China to gain advantage from Han, Zhao and Wei. This could be one of Qin's actions. If Qin takes this action, it is disadvantageous to the state of Zhao. Moreover, you won't be able to gain Yin. This is the first possibility of your losing Yin. If all the states of the world vie with each other to win over Qin, the king of Qin might arrange for Han Min to go back to the state of Qi, let Lord Chengyang enter the state of Wei, and appoint Wei Huai to be prime minister of the state of Wei. He might also unite with those states that support him. Thus people like Wang Ben and Han Tuo would be drawn to him and take his orders. This could be one of Qin's actions. If Qin takes this action, it is disadvantageous to the state of Zhao. Moreover, you won't be able to gain Yin. This is the second possibility of your losing Yin. If all the states of the world vie with each other to win over Qin, the king of Qin might become close to Qi and Zhao. Thus these three powerful states might unite with each other to coerce Wei into giving up Anyi. This could be one of Qin's actions. If Qin takes this action, Qi and Zhao will join it. Thus Wei will give up Anyi to enlarge Qin even before Qin declares war. After Qin gains the fertile land of Anyi and establishes good relations with the state of Wei, the



【原文】

秦行是计，不利于赵，而君必不得阴，三矣。天下争[事]秦，秦坚燕、赵之交，以伐齐收楚，与韩氓而攻魏，是秦之一举也。秦行是计，而燕、赵应之。燕、赵伐齐，兵始用，秦因收楚而攻魏，不至一二月，魏必破矣。秦举安邑而塞女戟，韩之太原绝，下轵道、南阳高伐魏，绝韩，包二周，即赵自消烁矣。国燥于秦，兵分于齐，非赵之利也。而君终身不得阴，四矣。天下争[事]秦，秦坚三晋之交，攻齐，国破(曹)[财]屈，而兵东分于

【今译】

非常友好，韩国必定会到秦国朝拜，秦国就会用安邑来威逼赵国，这是秦国的一个举动。秦国推行这个方案，不利于赵国，而您必定不能得到阴地，这是其三。天下各国争相侍奉秦国，秦国就会巩固与燕国和赵国的交情，来进攻齐国、占领楚国，联合韩国进攻魏国，这是秦国的一个举动。秦国推行这个方案，又有燕国和赵国顺应它。燕国和赵国一起进攻齐国，刚刚开战，秦国就会趁机占领楚国并且进攻魏国，不到一两个月，魏国必定会被攻破了。秦国占领安邑并且堵塞女戟，韩国的太原会就被切断；从轵道、南阳派兵进攻魏国、切断韩国、包围两个周国，赵国就会自行灭亡。国家被秦消灭，部分兵力被派出去攻打齐国，对赵国是不利的，而您一辈子也得不到阴地，这是其四。天下各国争相侍奉秦国，秦国就会巩固跟韩国、赵国和魏国的交情来进攻齐国，赵国就会国家破亡、财力耗尽，而且部分兵力被派到东方进攻齐国。秦国派兵进攻



king of the state of Han will go to Qin's court to pay homage. Thus Qin can threaten Zhao with Anyi. This could be one of Qin's actions. If Qin takes this action, it is disadvantageous to the state of Zhao. Moreover, you won't be able to gain Yin. This is the third possibility of your losing Yin. If all the states in the world vie with each other to win over Qin, Qin might build a firm alliance with the state of Yan and the state of Zhao to attack the state of Qi and take over the state of Chu. Qin might also unite with the state of Han to attack the state of Wei. This could be one of Qin's actions. If Qin takes this action, Yan and Zhao will join it in military action. If the troops of Yan and Zhao attack Qi, shortly after the fighting begins, the troops of Qin will take occasion to invade Chu and attack Wei. As a result, the state of Wei will be destroyed within one or two months. Qin will seize Anyi and block Nüji. Thus Taiyuan of the state of Han will be cut off. If Qin dispatches troops to attack the state of Wei from Zhidao and Nanyang, cuts off the state of Han and besieges both East Zhou and West Zhou, the state of Zhao will disappear. If the state is ruined by Qin and part of the military forces are sent to attack Qi, it is disadvantageous to the state of Zhao. Moreover, you won't be able to gain Yin in your lifetime. This is the fourth possibility of your losing Yin. If all the states of the world vie with each other to win over Qin, Qin might build a firm alliance with Han, Zhao and Wei to attack Qi. Thus the state of Zhao will become exhausted as well as use up its money. Moreover, its troops would be sent to the east to attack Qi. Then Qin might send



【原文】

齐。秦按(兵)攻魏,取安邑,是秦之一举也。秦行是计也,君按救魏,是以攻齐之已弊救与秦争战也。君不救也,韩、魏焉免西合? 国在谋之中,而君有终身不得阴,五矣。天下争[事]秦,秦按为义,存亡继绝,固危扶弱,定无罪之君,必起中山与(胜)[滕]焉。秦起中山与(胜)[滕],而赵、宋同命,何暇言阴? 六矣。故曰:君必无讲,则阴必得矣。’奉阳君曰:‘善。’乃绝和于秦,而收齐、魏以成取阴。”

【今译】

魏国、夺取安邑,这是秦国的一个举动。秦国推行这个方案,您如果派兵援救魏国,就是用进攻齐国的、已经疲惫不堪的士卒来跟秦军交战。您如果不援救魏国,韩国和魏国怎能避免向西跟秦国联合呢? 整个国家都在秦国的谋划之中,而您一辈子不能得到阴地,这是其五。天下各国争相侍奉秦国,秦国伪称推行正义,重建灭绝的国家,巩固陷入危机的国家或帮助弱小的国家,安定无罪的君主,这是秦国的一个举动。秦国推行这个方案,必定会重建中山和滕。秦国重建中山和滕,赵国和宋国就会面临相同的命运,哪里还有工夫谈论阴地? 这是其六。所以说:您一定不要跟秦讲和,那样就势必能得到阴地了。’奉阳君说:‘好。’于是拒绝跟秦国讲和,并且联合齐国和魏国夺得了阴地。”

楼缓将使伏事辞行

【原文】

楼缓将使,伏事辞行,谓赵王曰:“臣虽尽力竭知,死不复见于王

【今译】

楼缓即将出使外国,接受任务后向赵王辞行,对赵王说:“虽然我竭



troops to attack Wei to seize Anyi. This could be one of Qin's actions. If Qin takes this action and you want to rescue Wei, you will have to send those troops who have already been exhausted from attacking Qi to reinforce Wei and fight Qin. If you don't rescue Wei, how can you prevent Han and Wei from uniting with Qin in the west? Thus your state will come under the control of the state of Qin. Moreover, you won't be able to gain Yin during your lifetime. This is the fifth possibility of your losing Yin. If all the states of the world vie with each other to win over Qin, Qin might pretend to uphold righteousness and therefore focus on re-establishing the ruined states, consolidating the threatened ones or supporting the weak ones, and safeguarding the innocent sovereigns. Thus it will definitely re-establish Zhongshan and Teng. If Zhongshan and Teng are re-established, Zhao and Song will face the same fate. How will they have any time to pay attention to Yin? This is the sixth possibility of your losing Yin. So I suggest that you make sure that you don't make peace with Qin. So you can definitely gain the area of Yin.' Lord Fengyang said, 'Very good.' Then he refused to make peace with Qin. He united with Qi and Wei and occupied the region of Yin."

Lou Huan Was About to Travel to Another State on a Diplomatic Mission

Lou Huan was about to travel to another state on a diplomatic mission. He accepted this task and then went to



【原文】

矣。”王曰：“是何言也？固且为书而厚寄卿。”楼子曰：“王不闻公子牟夷之于宋乎？非肉不食。文张善宋，恶公子牟夷，（寅）[宋]然[之]。今臣之于王，非宋之于公子牟夷也，而恶臣者过文张。故臣死不复见于王矣。”王曰：“子勉行矣，寡人与子有誓言矣。”楼子遂行。

后以中牟反，入梁。候者来言而王弗听，曰：“吾已与楼子有言矣。”

【今译】

尽自己的能力与智谋为大王效劳，但我到死也不能再见到大王了。”赵王说：“这是什么话？我本来就想写一封信把您郑重地托付给对方。”楼缓说：“大王没有听说过公子牟夷在宋国的故事吗？每顿饭上的不是肉就不吃。文张跟宋国的关系很好，他败坏公子牟夷，宋王同意了他的看法。如今我跟大王的关系比不上公子牟夷跟宋王的关系好，然而败坏我的人超过了文张。所以我到死也不能再见到大王了。”赵王说：“你就努力出使吧，我跟你立下誓言了。”于是楼缓就出发了。

后来中牟造反，楼缓去了魏国，负责刺探的官吏来报告，赵王却不听，说：“我跟楼先生早就约好了。”

虞卿（请）[谓]赵王

【原文】

虞卿（请）[谓]赵王曰：“人之情，宁朝人乎？宁朝于人也？”赵王曰：“人亦宁朝人耳，何故宁朝于人？”虞卿曰：“夫魏为从主，而违者范座也。”

【今译】

虞卿对赵王说：“按照人之常情，是宁愿让别人来朝拜自己，还是宁肯去朝拜别人呢？”赵王说：“人当然是愿意让别人来朝拜自己，为什么



say good-bye to the king of the state of Zhao. He said, "Although I will try my best to serve Your Majesty, I won't be able to see you again till the end of my life." The king said, "Why did you say that? I did think of writing a letter to the other sovereign to entrust him with your well-being." Lou Huan said, "Haven't you heard of the story of Childe Mouyi in the state of Song? He used to be served with nothing but delicious meat. Wen Zhang was close to the king of Song. He spoke ill of Childe Mouyi and the king thought his opinions of Childe Mouyi were warranted. My relationship with Your Majesty is not as close as that of Childe Mouyi and the king of Song. However, there are people more powerful than Wen Zhang trying to slander me. So I won't be able to see you again till the end of my life." The king said, "Go to perform your duties. I swear that I won't listen to them." Lou Huan then left for his destination. After some time, he stirred up an rebellion against the state of Zhao in Zhongmou, and went to the state of Wei. When the officer in charge of intelligence reported it to the king, the king wouldn't listen to him. He said, "I have already promised Mr Lou."

Yu Qing Had a Talk with Zhao's King

Yu Qing had a talk with the king of the state of Zhao and said, "According to the innate nature of human beings, do you think they want others to pay homage to them? Or do you think they would rather pay homage to others?" The king said, "Of course they want others to pay homage to them."



【原文】

今王能以百里之地若万户之都请杀范座于魏，范座死，则从事可移于赵。”赵王曰：“善。”乃使人以百里之地请杀范座于魏。魏王许诺，使司徒执范座而未杀也。

范座献书魏王曰：“臣闻赵王以百里之地请杀座之身。夫杀无罪范座，座薄故也；而得百里之地，大利也。臣窃为大王美之。虽然，而有一焉，百里之地不可得，而死者不可复生也，则（主）[王]必为天下笑矣！臣窃以为与其以死人市，不若以生人市使也。”

又遗其后相信陵君书曰：“夫赵、魏，敌战之国也。赵王以咫尺之书来，而魏王轻为之杀无罪之座。座虽不肖，故魏之免相（望）也，尝以魏

【今译】

宁肯朝拜别人呢？”虞卿说：“魏国是主张合纵的盟主，而促成合纵的是范座。现在大王如果能把方圆百里的土地或者拥有一万户人家的城邑献给魏国，请求魏国杀死范座，范座死后，那操纵合纵的权力就可以转移到赵国手里了。”赵王说：“好。”于是派人进献一百里土地给魏国请求杀死范座。魏王答应了，让司徒把范座抓起来，但是还没有处死他。

范座给魏王写了一封信，说：“我听说赵王用一百里土地请求把我杀死。杀死无罪的范座是件小事，而得到一百里土地是个巨大的利益。我私下为大王感到庆幸。虽然如此，可是还有一点：如果不能得到这一百里土地，已经被杀死的人也不可能复活了，那大王必将被天下人嘲笑了。我私下认为，与其用死人跟他们交易，不如用活人跟他们交易。”

范座又给后来的相国信陵君写了一封信，说：“赵国和魏国是敌对交战的国家。赵王派人送来区区一尺书信，而魏王就轻易为此杀死没有任何罪过的我。我虽然不肖，也还是被魏国罢免的相国，曾经为了魏



Why would they rather pay homage to others?" Yu Qing said, "The state of Wei is the leader of those advocating Hezong, and Fan Zuo is the one proposing this strategy. Now if you present the king of the state of Wei with one hundred square *li* of land or a city with ten thousand families, and ask him to kill Fan Zuo, you will become the leader of Hezong after Fan Zuo dies." The king said, "Very good." Then he sent someone to present one hundred *li* of land to the king of Wei and asked him to have Fan Zuo killed. The king of Wei agreed. He ordered the Minister of Justice to arrest Fan Zuo and was about to kill him.

Fan Zuo wrote a letter to the king of Wei as follows: "I heard that the king of the state of Zhao has offered to trade one hundred *li* of land for my life. Killing an innocent person like me is only an insignificant thing. On the other hand, it is a big profit to gain one hundred *li* of land. I privately congratulate Your Majesty for that. However, you have forgotten one thing. I cannot come back to life again. If you don't gain one hundred *li* of land after killing me, you will be derided by people all over the world. I personally think it would be better if you trade a living Fan Zuo instead of a dead one for the land."

He then wrote a letter to Lord Xinling, the one who would take his place as the new prime minister, as follows: "The state of Zhao and the state of Wei are enemies. Now the king of Zhao has sent a one-*chi*-long letter here, and His Majesty will sentence me to death simply because of this letter. Although I am unworthy, I am still the former prime



【原文】

之故得罪于赵。夫国内无用臣，外虽得地，势不能守。然今能守魏者，莫如君矣。王听赵杀座之后，强秦袭赵之（欲）[故]，倍赵之割，则君将何以止之？此君之累也。”信陵君曰：“善。”遽言之王而出之。

【今译】

国的缘故而得罪赵国。如果国内没有了能干事的大臣，即使从外面得到了土地，也势必不能固守。然而现在能守卫魏国的，没有谁能比得上您了。大王听信赵国处死我以后，强大的秦国将沿袭赵国的做法，许诺给我们比赵国多一倍的土地，那您将如何制止这种事？这也是您的祸患啊。”信陵君说：“好。”立即告诉魏王，释放了范座。

燕封宋人荣盆为高阳君

【原文】

燕封宋人荣盆为高阳君，使将而攻赵。赵王因割济东三城（令）庐、高唐、平原陵地城邑市五十七，命以与齐，而以求安平君而将之。马服君谓平原君曰：“国奚无人甚哉！君致安平君而将之，乃割济东三（令）城市邑五十七以与齐。此（夫子）与敌国战，覆军杀将之所取、割地于敌国者也。今君以此与齐，而求安平君而将之，国奚无人甚也！且君奚不

【今译】

燕国封宋国人荣盆为高阳君，派他为将领进攻赵国。于是赵王命令割让济水以东的三座城邑以及卢、高唐、平原一带地势较高的五十七座城邑给齐国，请求齐国派安平君率领赵国军队进行对抗。马服君对平原君说：“难道国内没有能人了吗？国君想让安平君来做将领，于是割让济水以东的三座城邑以及其他五十七座城邑给齐国。这些地区是您跟敌国作战，击溃敌军、斩杀敌将所夺取的，是从敌国割获的土地。如今国君把它们都给了齐国，而且还请求让安平君做大将，难道国内确



minister of the state of Wei. I offended the state of Zhao for the sake of our state. If there is no capable high-ranking court official in our state, we cannot maintain the land we have gained from other state. However, the only one that can defend the state of Wei is you. After His Majesty kills me as demanded by the state of Zhao, the powerful Qin will follow in Zhao's footsteps to offer twice as much land to us (to trade for your life). How can you prevent it? This is also a severe threat to you." Lord Xinling said, "I see." He then urgently asked the king of Wei to release Fan Zuo.

Yan Entitled Rong Fen from Song as Lord Gaoyang

The state of Yan entitled Rong Fen, a man from the state of Song, as Lord Gaoyang and then ordered him to lead troops to attack the state of Zhao. The state of Zhao then ceded three cities located east of the Jishui River along with fifty-seven other cities and towns in the areas of Lu, Gaotang and Pingyuan to the state of Qi. Then Zhao asked Qi to send Lord Anping to Zhao to act as Commander-in-Chief to confront the enemy troops. Lord Mafu had a talk with Lord Pingyuan and said, "Don't we have any capable people in our state? Why did His Majesty invite Lord Anping from Qi to be Commander-in-Chief and cede those three cities located east of the Jishui River along with fifty-seven other cities and towns to the state of Qi? These areas were obtained from enemy states after you annihilated the enemy troops and killed their generals. Now His Majesty has presented them to Qi and also



【原文】

将奢也？奢尝抵罪居燕，燕以奢为上谷守，燕之通谷要塞，奢习知之。百日之内，天下之兵未聚，奢已举燕矣。然则君奚求安平君而为将乎？”平原君曰：“将军释之矣，仆已言之仆主矣。仆主幸以听仆也，将军无言已。”马服君曰：“君过矣！君之所以求安平君者，以齐之于燕也，茹肝涉血之仇耶。其于奢不然。使安平君愚，固不能当荣盆；使安平君知，又不肯与燕人战。此两言者，安平君必处一焉。虽然，两者有一也，使安平君知，则奚以赵之强为？赵强，则齐不复霸矣。今得强赵之兵以杜燕，将旷日持久数岁，令士大夫余子之力尽于沟垒，车甲羽毛裂敝，府库

【今译】

实没有人了吗！再说了，国君为什么不让我做大将军呢？我曾经为抵罪而住在燕国，燕国安排我做上谷的守将。燕国大的山川和要塞，我非常熟悉。一百天之内，天下各国的军队还没有集合起来，我就已经攻克燕国了。然而为什么国君要请求让安平君来做将领呢？”平原君说：“将军别提了。我已经跟国君说过这件事了。有幸国君听从了我的建议，将军不要再说了。”马服君说：“您错了。国君之所以请求让安平君做我们大将领，是因为齐国跟燕国是不共戴天的敌人。我却不这么认为。假如安平君愚蠢，他当然不能抵挡荣盆；假如安平君聪明，就又不肯跟燕国人交战。我说的这两种情形，安平君必定属于其中的一种。虽然如此，他在这两者中居其一，假如安平君聪明，那他为什么要让赵国强大起来呢？赵国强大了，齐国就不能重新称霸了。如今得以用强大的赵国的军队来对抗燕国，他将进行旷日持久、长达几年的战争，让士大夫、散卒的力气在沟壑中消耗殆尽，战车、铠甲、旗帜破碎，国库粮仓空



invited Lord Anping to be Commander-in-Chief of our state. Do we really have no capable people here in our state? Why doesn't he designate me to be Commander-in-Chief? To atone for my misconduct, I used to live in the state of Yan. Yan appointed me to be officer to defend Shanggu. I am familiar with all the big valleys and important fortifications of the state of Yan. If I were appointed, I could defeat Yan within one hundred days before the allied forces of other states of the world were mobilised. So why did His Majesty invite Lord Anping to be our Commander-in-Chief?" Lord Pingyuan said, "Please don't mention this again. I told His Majesty to do so, and fortunately, he has taken my advice. Please don't disagree with me." Lord Mafu said, "You are wrong! The reason that Zhao invited Lord Anping to be our Commander-in-Chief lies in the fact that Qi and Yan bear deep enmity towards each other. But I don't agree with you in this matter. If Lord Anping is stupid, he certainly cannot defeat Rong Fen. If he is wise, he won't engage the troops of Yan horse and foot. Surely either of these two descriptions must suit Lord Anping. If Lord Anping is wise, why would he exert himself to strengthen the state of Zhao? If Zhao becomes powerful, it will be impossible for the state of Qi to establish the most powerful state in the world. Now that he can use the troops of the powerful Zhao to counterattack those of Yan, he will prolong the war and make it last for several years. Thus our officers and men will become exhausted due to battles fought in the open. Our chariots, armour and flags will become worn. Our depots and granaries

【原文】

仓廩虚，两国交（以习之）[敝]，乃引其兵而归。夫尽两国之兵，无明此者矣。”（夏军也县釜而炊）[已而]得三城也，城大无能过百雉者。果如马服之言也。

【今译】

虚，两国兵力都筋疲力尽，才退兵回来。他想把两个国家的兵力都拖垮，没有什么比这更明显的企图了。”不久，占领了三座城邑，再大的城邑的城墙也不超过一百雉，果然像马服君所说的那样。

三国攻秦赵攻中山

【原文】

三国攻秦，赵攻中山，取扶柳，五年以擅呼沱。齐人戎郭、宋突谓仇郝曰：“不如尽归中山之新地。中山案此言于齐曰：‘四国将假道于卫，以过章子之路。’齐闻此，必效鼓。”

【今译】

魏、齐、韩三个国家进攻秦国，赵国进攻中山，占领了扶柳，用五年时间占领了滹沱河流域。齐国人戎郭、宋突对仇郝说：“不如把刚从中山夺取的土地都归还给它。中山因此对齐国说：‘赵国将向卫国借道，来阻拦章子回来的路。’齐国听说了，必定会进献鼓邑。”

赵使赵庄合从

【原文】

赵使赵庄合从，欲伐齐。齐请效地，赵因贱赵庄。齐明为谓赵王

【今译】

赵国派赵庄联合别的国家，想攻打齐国。齐国请求进献土地，于是赵国轻视赵庄。齐明为赵庄对赵王说：“齐国害怕我们跟别的国家联



will become empty, and both sides will be done for. He won't withdraw our troops till then. He want to exhaust the troops of both sides. Nothing could be clearer." Under Lord Anping's leadership, Zhao occupied three cities. But none of these cities' protective walls was more than one hundred *zhi* in length. As expected, Lord Mafu's words turned into reality.

Three States Attacked Qin and Zhao Attacked Zhongshan

Three states—Wei I, Qi and Han launched a concerted attack on the state of Qin. The troops of the state of Zhao invaded the state of Zhongshan and occupied Fuliu. Five years later, they took over the areas along the Hutuo River. Rong Guo and Song Tu, two men from the state of Qi, told Qiu Hao, "You'd better return all the territory taken from the state of Zhongshan. Then Zhongshan will inform the state of Qi as follows: 'The troops of the state of Zhao will march through the state of Wei II to intercept Zhangzi's troops.' When the king of the state of Qi hears this, he will definitely cede the region of Gu to you."

Zhao Asked Zhao Zhuang to Ally with Other States

In order to attack the state of Qi, the state of Zhao asked Zhao Zhuang to ally with other states to take unified military action. The state of Qi offered to cede some land to Zhao. For this reason, Zhao didn't attach much importance to Zhao



【原文】

曰：“齐畏从人之合也，故效地。今闻赵庄贱，张慙贵，齐必不效地矣。”赵王曰：“善。”乃召赵庄而贵之。

【今译】

合，所以进献土地。如今听说赵庄受到轻视、张慙显贵，齐国必定不会把土地进献给我们了。”赵王说：“好。”于是召见赵庄并且重用他。

翟章从梁来

【原文】

翟章从梁来，甚善赵王。赵王三延之以相，翟章辞不受。田驷谓柱国韩向曰：“臣请为卿刺之。客若死，则王必怒而诛建信君。建信君死，则卿必为相矣；建信君不死，以为交，终身不敝，卿因以德建信君矣。”

【今译】

翟章从魏国来，对赵王非常友好。赵王几次邀请他做相国，翟章都没有接受。田驷对柱国韩向说：“请让我为你刺杀他。如果他死了，那大王必定会非常生气，从而处死建信君。建信君死了，您就一定能做相国了；建信君不死，就趁这个机会跟他结交，终生不反目，因此也能让建信君感激您。”



Zhuang. On Zhao Zhuang's behalf, Qi Ming had a talk with the king of Zhao and said, "The state of Qi fears that we might successfully build an alliance with other states, so it promised to cede some land to us. If Qi hears that Zhao Zhuang has lost power, and Zhang Qin becomes more powerful, it certainly won't cede the land to us." The king of Zhao said, "I see." Then he called in Zhao Zhuang and appointed him to a powerful position.

Zhai Zhang Came from Wei

Zhai Zhang came from the state of Wei and hobnobbed with the king of the state of Zhao. The king of Zhao invited him to be prime minister of his state several times, but Zhai Zhang refused. Tian Si had a talk with Han Xiang, the then Zhuguo (referring to the second highest position among all the court officials, which is only inferior to the prime minister of Zhao), and said, "Please let me assassinate him for you. If he dies, His Majesty will definitely blame Lord Jianxin and therefore will sentence him to death. If Lord Jianxin loses his life, you will become prime minister. If not, you can take occasion to befriend him and never turn against him during your lifetime. Then Lord Jianxin will be grateful to you."



冯忌为庐陵君谓赵王

【原文】

冯忌为庐陵君谓赵王曰：“王之逐庐陵君，为燕也？”王曰：“吾所以重者，无燕，秦也。”对曰：“秦三以虞卿为言，而王不逐也；今燕一以庐陵君为言，而王逐之。是王轻强秦而重弱燕也。”王曰：“吾非为燕也，吾固将逐之。”“然则王逐庐陵君又不为燕也。行逐爱弟，又兼无燕（秦），臣窃为大王不取也。”

【今译】

冯忌为庐陵君对赵王说：“大王驱逐了庐陵君，是因为燕国的缘故吗？”赵王说：“我所看重的不是燕国，而是秦国。”冯忌回答说：“秦国多次让虞卿替它说话，而大王却没有驱逐他；如今燕国一让庐陵君替它说话，大王就驱逐了他。这表明大王轻视强大的秦国而重视弱小的燕国。”赵王说：“我不是因为燕国的缘故，我本来就打算驱逐他。”“这样一来，大王驱逐庐陵君还不是因为燕国的缘故。驱逐自己的亲弟弟，又无视燕国，我私下认为大王这么做是不可取的。”

冯忌请见赵王

【原文】

冯忌请见赵王，行人见之。冯忌接手免首，欲言而不敢。王问其故，对曰：“客有见人于服子者，已而请其罪。服子曰：‘公之客独有三

【今译】

冯忌请求谒见赵王，负责接待宾客的官员把他引见给赵王。冯忌拱手低头，想说什么但又不敢说。赵王问他是什么原因，他回答说：“有个门客把一个人引见给宓子贱。过了一会儿，他请示客人有什么过错。



Feng Ji Had a Talk with Zhao's King on Lord Luling's Behalf

On Lord Luling's behalf, Feng Ji had a talk with the king of the state of Zhao and said, "Your Majesty, did you exile Lord Luling because of the state of Yan?" The king said, "The state I attach importance to is the state of Qin. I pay no attention to the state of Yan." Feng Ji replied, "Qin has expressed its wishes through Yu Qing several times, but you haven't exiled him. However, once Yan expressed its wishes through Lord Luling, you exiled him. So it shows that Your Majesty looks down upon the powerful Qin and attaches importance to the weak Yan." The king said, "I didn't exile him because of the state of Yan. I have been thinking of exiling him before." "Then, Your Majesty didn't drive Lord Luling out of our state because of Yan. Personally, I think it is very unwise to exile your younger brother and also pay no attention to Yan."

Feng Ji Asked for Permission to Meet Zhao's King

Feng Ji asked for permission to meet the king of the state of Zhao face to face, and the officer in charge of receiving guests introduced him to the king. Feng Ji saluted with his hands folded and lowered his head before the king. It seemed that he wanted to say something but didn't dare to. The king asked him the reason. Feng Ji replied, "Once a man introduced a guest to Mizi Jian. After a while, he asked Mizi



【原文】

罪：望我而笑，是狎也；谈话而不称师，是倍也；交浅而言深，是乱也。’客曰：‘不然。夫望人而笑，是和也；言而不师称，是庸说也；交浅而言深，是忠也。昔者尧见舜于草茅之中，席陇亩而荫庇桑，阴移而授天下传；伊尹负鼎俎而干汤，姓名未著而受三公。使夫交浅者不可以深谈，则天下不传而三公不得也。’”赵王曰：“甚善。”冯忌曰：“今外臣交浅而欲深谈，可乎？”王曰：“请奉教。”于是冯忌乃谈。

【今译】

宓子说：‘您的客人只有三种过错：看到我就笑，这是轻视我；引用一些话的时候却不报师门，这是背叛；交情浅但是交谈的内容却很深，这是迷惑我。’门客说：‘不是这样的。看着别人笑，这是温和；说话时不报师门，这是平常的言谈；交情浅而交谈的内容深，这是忠诚。从前尧在野外见到舜，坐在田地里的桑树底下，不久就把天下传给了舜。伊尹背着锅和案板去见汤，连姓名都没有弄清楚就被授予三公的爵位。假如交情浅的人不可以进行深刻的交谈，那尧就不会把天下传给舜，伊尹也不能做三公。’”赵王说：“很好。”冯忌说：“如今从另一个国家来的我跟您交情浅却想深谈，可以吗？”赵王说：“请赐教。”于是冯忌就说了自己的观点。

客见赵王

【原文】

客见赵王曰：“臣闻王之使人买马也，有之乎？”王曰：“有之。”“何故

【今译】

一个客人谒见赵王说：“我听说大王派人买马，有这么回事吗？”赵



what shortcomings the guest had. Mizi said, 'Your guest has only three shortcomings. Firstly, he looked directly into my eyes and smiled at me. This is irreverence. Secondly, when he quoted something, he didn't mention his teacher. This is treachery. Thirdly, we are not close to each other, but his talk reached a depth. This is confusion.' The man said, 'No, it is not like what you said. Looking directly into another person's eyes and smiling at him is clemency. He didn't mention the name of his teacher because he didn't quote anything special. Although you are not close to each other, his talk reached a depth. This shows his loyalty. Previously, Yao went to see Shun in the wild. They just sat in the fields, under a mulberry tree. Then Yao devolved the world on Shun on the spot. Carrying a pot and a chopping block on his back, Yi Yin went to see Tang. Tang assigned him the highest rank without asking his name. Suppose people not close to each other didn't exchange their deeply held views, Shun wouldn't have accepted the world, and Yi Yin wouldn't have been appointed to one of the highest positions.' The king of Zhao said, "Very reasonable." Feng Ji said, "As a foreigner, I am not close to you but want to talk seriously with you. May I do this?" The king said, "I'd like to hear your instructions." So Feng Ji started talking.

A Guest Visited Zhao's King

A guest paid a visit to the king of the state of Zhao and said, "I heard that Your Majesty wants to send some people



【原文】

至今不遣？”王曰：“未得相马之工也。”对曰：“王何不遣建信君乎？”“建信君有国事，又不知相马。”曰：“王何不遣纪姬乎？”王曰：“纪姬妇人也，不知相马。”对曰：“买马而善，何补于国？”王曰：“无补乎国。”“买马而恶，何危于国？”王曰：“无危于国。”对曰：“然则买马善而若恶，皆无危补于国。然而王之买马也，必将待工。今治天下举错非也，国家为虚戾而社稷不血食，然而王不待工而与建信君，何也？”赵王未之应也。客曰：“（燕郭）[郭偃]之法有所谓（桑雍）[柔痛]者，王知之乎？”王曰：“未之闻也。”“所谓（桑雍）[柔痛]者，便辟左右之近者及夫人优爱孺子也。此皆能乘王之醉昏而求所欲于王者也。是能得之乎内，则大臣为之枉法于

【今译】

王说：“有。”“为什么到现在还不安排他们出发？”赵王说：“还没有找到擅长相马的师傅呢。”客人回答说：“大王何不派建信君去？”“建信君要处理国家大事，又不懂得相马。”客人说：“大王何不派纪姬去？”赵王说：“纪姬是一个女人，不懂得相马。”客人回答说：“买到好马，对国家有什么帮助？”赵王说：“没有帮助。”“买的马不好，对国家有什么危害？”赵王说：“没有危害。”客人回答说：“既然如此，买的马好与不好，都对国家既没有帮助又没有危害，然而大王买马却一定要等找到一个擅长相马的师傅。如今治理天下的举措是错误的，国家沦为废墟，社稷之神不能得到祭祀，然而大王不等待一个擅长治理国家的师傅，却将国事交付给建信君，为什么呢？”赵王没有作任何回答。客人说：“郭偃的法律中有所谓的‘柔痛’，大王知道此事吗？”赵王说：“没有听说过。”“所谓的‘柔痛’，是君主身边的宠臣、爱妾、俳优和男童。这些人都能趁着大王昏醉时向大王索取自己想要的东西。这些人能够在宫内为所欲为，那大臣



to purchase horses for you. Is that true?" "Yes, that's true."
"Why haven't you sent them?" "I haven't yet found anyone
who is good at judging the quality of horses." "Why not send
Lord Jianxin then?" "Lord Jianxin takes care of government
affairs. Anyway, he is not able to judge the quality of
horses." "Why not send Madame Ji?" "Madame Ji is a woman.
She knows nothing about the quality of horses either." "Will
the state benefit if you can obtain a fine horse?" "That won't
provide any benefit to the state." "Can the state be damaged if
you buy a bad horse?" "That won't do any harm to the
state." "Well, in that case, a fine horse cannot benefit the
state and a bad one cannot do any harm to it. However, you
look for a person who is good at judging the quality of animals
when you want to purchase horses. Our policies on governing
the state are wrong. As a result, the state will be ruined, and
sacrifices normally held to worship both the Deity of Crops
and the Deity of Earth will be suspended. But instead of
looking for the right person to administer the state, you
devolve it on Lord Jianxin. Why?" The king didn't answer
his question. The guest continued, "In the regulations
stipulated by Guo Yan, there is a so-called Rouju. Do you
know that?" "I've never heard anything about it," replied the
king. "The so-called Rouju refers to a sovereign's favourite
court officials, concubines, dwarf entertainers and handsome
young men. All these people take advantage of the sovereign
to obtain whatever they want when the sovereign loses
consciousness due to alcohol. If these people can have their
lusts fulfilled inside the palace, high-ranking court officials



【原文】

外矣。故日月暉于外，其賊在于內。謹備其所憎，而禍在于所愛。”

【今译】

们就会在宫外徇私枉法了。所以太阳和月亮外表放射着光辉，为害的东西却隐藏在内部。人们对自己讨厌的人谨慎防备，而祸患却出在自己所喜爱的人身上。”

秦攻魏取宁邑

【原文】

秦攻魏，取宁邑，诸侯皆贺。赵王使往贺，三反，不得通。赵王忧之，谓左右曰：“以秦之强，得宁邑以制齐、赵。诸侯皆贺，吾往贺而独不得通，此必加兵[于]我，为之奈何？”左右曰：“使者三往不得通者，必所使者非其人也。曰谅毅者，辨士也，大王可试使之。”

谅毅亲受命而往。至秦，献书秦王曰：“大王广地宁邑，诸侯皆贺，

【今译】

秦国军队进攻魏国，占领了宁邑，各国诸侯都表示祝贺。赵王派使者前往祝贺，使者往返了多次，秦王都不接见他。赵王为此很担忧，对身边的大臣说：“凭着秦国的强大，得到宁邑后，就会用它来遏制赵国。各国诸侯都派人表示祝贺，然而唯独我们前往祝贺的使者得不到接见，这说明它一定会派兵进攻我们，怎么办呢？”身边的大臣都说：“使者去了几次都得不到接见，一定是我们派出的使者不适合这项差使。有个叫谅毅的，是个能言善辩的士人，大王可以让他出使试试。”

谅毅亲自接受命令前往出使。到了秦国，他给秦王献上一封书信



will pervert the law outside the palace. Both the sun and the moon have halos and prominence, but things causing damage to them stay on their inside. It is natural to be cautious with people one dislikes, but normally problems are initiated by those whom one loves."

Qin Attacked Wei and Occupied Ningyi

The troops of the state of Qin attacked the state of Wei and occupied the county of Ningyi. All other states' sovereigns sent emissaries to Qin to congratulate it. The king of the state of Zhao sent a messenger to Qin. He tried several times to see the king of Qin but was refused. The king of Zhao worried about this, so he told the people around him, "As powerful as the state of Qin is, it is about to pose a threat to our state after seizing Ningyi. Sovereigns of all other states have sent people to Qin to congratulate it. We have sent a messenger there as well. However, he is the only one who has been rejected by Qin. It means that Qin will definitely send troops to invade our state. What shall we do about it?" The people around him all said, "Our messenger has been rejected many times, but maybe we haven't sent the right person. There is a man called Liang Yi, who is a persuasive speaker. Maybe Your Majesty can send him to Qin to try again."

Liang Yi received the order in person and made for the state of Qin. After he arrived there, he presented a letter to the king of Qin, which stated, "Your Majesty has taken



【原文】

敝邑寡君亦窃嘉之，不敢宁居，使下臣奉其币物，三至王廷而使不得通。使若无罪，愿大王无绝其欢；若使有罪，愿得请之。”秦王使使者报曰：“吾所使赵国者，小大皆听吾言，则受书币；若不从吾言，则使者归矣。”

谅毅对曰：“下臣之来，固愿承大国之意也，岂敢有难？大王若有以令之，请奉而西行之，无所敢疑。”

于是秦王乃见使者，曰：“赵豹、平原君数欺弄寡人。赵能杀此二人则可，若不能杀，请今率诸侯受命邯郸城下。”谅毅曰：“赵豹、平原君，亲寡君之母弟也，犹大王之有叶阳、涇阳君也。大王以孝治闻于天下，衣服使之便于体，膳啖使之嫌于口，未尝不分于叶阳、涇阳君。叶阳君、涇

【今译】

说：“大王把领土扩展到了宁邑，诸侯都表示祝贺，我们国家的君主私下里也很替大王高兴，不敢安居，派小臣带着钱币和礼物，多次来到大王的朝廷，却得不到接见。假如使者没有什么罪过，请大王不要拒绝他的好意；假如使者有罪，希望能告诉我们。”秦王派使者告诉谅毅说：“我所要求赵国使者的是，大大小小的事情都听从我的吩咐，那我就接受书信和礼金；如果不听从我的吩咐，那使者就回去吧。”谅毅回答说：“我到这里来，本来就是想听从大王吩咐的，怎敢有任何质疑呢？大王如果有什么命令，我会恭恭敬敬地执行，不敢表示任何怀疑。”

于是秦王才见使者，说：“赵豹、平原君几次欺骗、耍弄我。赵国如果能把这两个人杀了还可以，如果不把他们杀了，我现在就率领各国军队进逼邯郸城下。”谅毅说：“赵豹和平原君是我们国君的亲弟弟，跟大王与叶阳君和涇阳君的关系一样啊。大王的孝顺与善于治国天下闻名，穿着舒适的衣服和味道鲜美的食物，没有不跟叶阳君和涇阳君分享



Ningyi, and sovereigns of all the states have sent emissaries here to congratulate you. The sovereign of our state also admires your achievement, so he dares not stay idly at home. Therefore, he too sent a messenger here along with some money and other presents. He has come to Your Majesty's court several times, but was rejected every time. If our messenger hasn't offended you, please don't reject his good intentions. If he has offended you, please let us know." The king of Qin sent someone to present a message to Liang Yi as follows: "What I demand of the emissary from the state of Zhao is to follow my orders in every respect, big or small. Then I will accept the gift money and letter. If he doesn't follow my orders, he can return home." Liang Yi replied, "I came here to listen to and follow Your Majesty's instructions. How dare I refuse taking your orders? If Your Majesty orders me to do something, I will certainly carry it out. I dare not doubt it at all."

Then the king of Qin agreed to see the emissary. He said, "Zhao Bao and Lord Pingyuan have cheated me several times. If the state of Zhao sentences them to death, there won't be any problems. If not, I will lead allied forces recruited from all other states and march to Handan." Liang Yi said, "Zhao Bao and Lord Pingyuan are our sovereign's younger brothers. The relationship between them is similar to Your Majesty's relationship with Lord Sheyang and Lord Jingyang. Your Majesty is well-known all over the world for your filial piety and capability of administering the state. You always share your best clothes and delicious food with Lord



【原文】

阳君之车马衣服，无非大王之服御者。臣闻之：‘有覆巢毁卵而凤皇不翔，刳胎焚夭而麒麟不至。’今使臣受大王之令以还报，敝邑之君畏惧，不敢不行，无乃伤叶阳君、涇阳君之心乎？”

秦王曰：“诺。勿使从政！”谅毅曰：“敝邑之君，有母弟不能教诲，以恶大国，请黜之，勿使与政事，以称大国。”秦王乃喜，受其（弊）[币]而厚遇之。

【今译】

的。叶阳君和涇阳君的车马、衣服，没有跟大王所使用的不一样的。我听说，如果颠覆鸟巢、毁坏鸟卵，凤凰就不会飞来；刨出野兽的胎儿、炙烤幼兽，麒麟就不会前来。如今假如我接受了大王的命令回去报告，我们的国君害怕大王，不敢不执行，恐怕会让叶阳君和涇阳君伤心吧？”

秦王说：“好吧。那就不要让他们参与政事！”谅毅说：“我们的国君有亲生弟弟却不能好好地教诲他们，以致他们触怒了您，请让我们废黜了他们，不让他们参与政事，来满足大王的心意。”秦王才高兴起来，接受了他的礼金并且善待他。

赵使姚贾约韩魏

【原文】

赵使姚贾约韩、魏，韩、魏以友之。举茅为姚贾谓赵王曰：“贾也，王之忠臣也。韩、魏欲得之，故友之，将使王逐之，而已因受之。今王逐之，是韩、魏之欲得，而王之忠臣有罪也。故王不如勿逐，以明王之贤，

【今译】

赵国派姚贾跟韩国和魏国结盟，韩国和魏国背叛了盟约。举茅为姚贾对赵王说：“姚贾是大王的忠臣。韩国和魏国想得到他，故意背叛了盟约，想让大王驱逐他，而自己却趁机接受他。如今大王驱逐他，这样一来，韩国和魏国的愿望就得到满足了，而大王的忠臣却获了罪。所



Sheyang and Lord Jingyang. You also use their carriages, horses and clothes. I heard that if people of an area damage nests and break birds' eggs, the phoenix won't fly there. If people of an area hurt animal embryos and cook cubs, Qilin won't appear there. Now if I accept Your Majesty's order and go back to report to my sovereign, he will carry it out because of his fear of you. However, don't you think this will make Lord Sheyang and Lord Jingyang very depressed?"

The king of Qin said, "Well, I agree. But be sure to dismiss Zhao Bao and Lord Pingyuan from office." Liang Yi said, "My sovereign failed to edify his younger brothers, so they have offended Your Majesty. In order to satisfy Your Majesty, we will dismiss them from office and never employ them again in government affairs." The king of Qin was happy then. He accepted the gifts and treated Liang Yi very well.

Zhao Sent Yao Jia to Ally with Han and Wei

The state of Zhao sent Yao Jia to ally with the state of Han and the state of Wei. However, Han and Wei turned against Yao Jia. On behalf of Yao Jia, Ju Mao had a talk with the king of Zhao and said, "Yao Jia is a loyal court official of yours. Han and Wei want to win him over, so they turned against him on purpose so that Your Majesty would exile him. Then they could employ him themselves. Now if you exile him, Han and Wei will fulfill their wish, but your loyal court official will be punished. Therefore, you'd better not



【原文】

而折韩、魏招之。”

【今译】

以大王不如不驱逐他，来彰示大王的贤明，并且挫败韩国和魏国想得到姚贾的企图。”

魏败楚于陉山

【原文】

魏败楚于陉山，禽唐明。楚王惧，令昭应奉太子以委和于薛公。主父欲败之，乃结秦连（楚、）宋之交，令仇郝相宋，楼缓相秦。楚王（禽）[离]赵、宋，魏之和卒败。

【今译】

魏国军队在陉山打败了楚军，擒获唐明。楚王很恐惧，命令昭应带上太子作人质，跟薛公讲和。赵王想破坏这件事，就跟秦国和宋国建立邦交，安排仇郝做宋国的相国、楼缓做秦国的相国。楚王离间赵国和宋国，齐国和楚国和谈的事情最终失败了。

秦召春平侯

【原文】

秦召春平侯，因留之。世钧为之谓文信侯曰：“春平侯者，赵王之所甚爱也，而郎中甚妒之，故相与谋曰：‘春平侯入秦，秦必留之。’故谋而

【今译】

秦国把春平侯召来，趁机扣留了他。世钧为春平侯对文信侯说：“春平侯是赵王非常宠爱的人，然而郎中们非常妒忌他，所以互相商量说：‘春平侯到了秦国，秦国一定会扣留他。’所以密谋把他弄到了秦国。



exile him. Thus you can show your wisdom and frustrate Han and Wei's desire to win him over."

Wei Defeated Chu on Mount Xing

The troops of the state of Wei defeated those of the state of Chu on Mount Xing and captured Tang Ming. The king of Chu was scared, so he sent Zhao Ying to take the crown prince to Wei as a hostage and make peace with Wei through the lord of Xue. The king of the state of Zhao wanted to undermine the peace talks between Wei and Chu, so he established good relations with the state of Qin and the state of Song. He also appointed Qiu Hao as prime minister of Song and Lou Huan as prime minister of Qin. The king of the state of Chu undermined the relationship between Zhao and Song. The peace talks between Qi and Chu resulted in failure.

Qin Called in Marquis Chunping

The state of Qin summoned Marquis Chunping and then detained him. On Marquis Chunping's behalf, Shi Jun had a talk with Marquis Wenxin and said, "Marquis Chunping used to be cherished very much by the king of the state of Zhao. However, other beloved officials of the king were very jealous of Marquis Chunping. So they conspired against him and said to each other, 'If Marquis Chunping enters the state of Qin, Qin will definitely detain him.' So, they schemed to make



【原文】

人之秦。今君留之，是空绝赵而郎中之计中也。故君不如遣春平侯而留平都侯。春平侯者言行于赵王，必厚割赵以事君，而赎平都侯。”文信侯曰：“善。”因与接意而遣之。

【今译】

如今您扣留了他，这就白白断绝了跟赵国的关系，而且让郎中们的阴谋得逞。所以您不如放春平侯回去而把平都侯扣留下来。春平侯的话赵王会听从，他一定会从赵国割让大片的土地来侍奉您，并且赎回平都侯。”文信侯说：“好。”于是盛情款待春平侯并放他回国。

赵太后新用事

【原文】

赵太后新用事，秦急攻之。赵氏求救于齐，齐曰：“必以长安君为质，兵乃出。”太后不肯，大臣强谏。太后明谓左右：“有复言令长安君为质者，老妇必唾其面！”

左师触(𡵚)[龙言]愿见太后。太后盛气而(揖)[胥]之。入而徐趋，至而自谢，曰：“老臣病足，曾不能疾走，不得见久矣。窃自恕，而恐

【今译】

赵太后刚刚执掌政事，秦国就立即派兵进攻赵国。赵国向齐国求救，齐国说：“必须用长安君作人质，才肯派出救兵。”赵太后不答应，大臣们都极力劝谏。赵太后明确地告诉身边的人说：“有再提让长安君作人质的，老妇我就往他的脸上吐口水。”

左师触龙说他想见太后，赵太后怒气冲冲地等候着他。触龙进宫后，用小步慢慢地走，走到赵太后面前，自己谢罪说：“我的脚有毛病，竟



him come to Qin. Now if you detain him, not only will you harm the relations with Zhao for nothing, but you will also help those officials promote their scheme. So, it would be better if you let Marquis Chunping go back to Zhao and detain Marquis Pingdu. Marquis Chunping's advice is always taken by the king of Zhao. He will certainly cede a lot of Zhao's land to bribe you as well as atone for Marquis Pingdu." Marquis Wenxin said, "This is a good idea." Then he held grand banquets in Marquis Chunping's honour and sent him back to Zhao.

Shortly After the Queen Mother of Zhao Took Over the Regime

Shortly after the queen mother of the state of Zhao took over the regime, the state of Qin dispatched troops to attack Zhao. Zhao asked the state of Qi for help. However, Qi replied, "You must send Lord Chang'an here as a hostage. Then we will send our troops to help you." The queen mother refused to do that. All the high-ranking court officials tried their best to remonstrate with her. The queen mother told them bluntly, "If anyone dares talk about sending Lord Chang'an to Qi as a hostage, I will spit in his face."

Chu Long, the Left Master of Zhao, said that he would like to pay a visit to the queen mother. The queen mother awaited him angrily. Chu Long entered the palace and walked slowly with small steps. He approached the queen mother and apologized, "I have a foot disease and therefore cannot



【原文】

太后玉体之有所郤也，故愿望见太后。”太后曰：“老妇恃辇而行。”曰：“日食饮得无衰乎？”曰：“恃鬻耳。”曰：“老臣今者殊不欲食，乃自强步，日三四里，少益耆食，和于身也。”太后曰：“老妇不能。”太后之色少解。

左师公曰：“老臣贱息舒祺，最少，不肖。而臣衰，窃爱怜之，愿令得补黑衣之数，以卫王（官）[宫]。没死以闻。”太后曰：“敬诺。年几何矣？”对曰：“十五岁矣。虽少，愿及未填沟壑而托之。”太后曰：“丈夫亦爱怜其少子乎？”对曰：“甚于妇人。”太后笑曰：“妇人异甚。”对曰：“老臣窃以为媼之爱燕后，贤于长安君。”曰：“君过矣，不若长安君之甚。”

【今译】

然不能快步走，好久不能拜见太后了。我私下宽恕了自己，但是担心太后的玉体会会有什么不舒服，所以想拜见太后。”赵太后说：“我靠车子出行。”触龙说：“每天的饮食没有减少吧？”赵太后说：“靠吃点粥而已。”触龙说：“我这段时间特别不想吃东西，于是勉强自己散散步，每天走三四里路，能稍微多吃一点东西了，身体也觉得舒服些了。”赵太后说：“我不能这么做。”赵太后脸上的怒色稍稍有些缓解了。

左师触龙说：“我最小的儿子舒祺，很不成器。但是我年迈体衰了，私下很疼爱他，希望能让他做一名穿黑色制服的侍卫，来守卫王宫。我冒着死罪来禀报太后。”赵太后说：“好吧。他年龄有多大了？”触龙回答说：“十五岁了。虽然年纪还小，但希望在我没死之前把他托付给您。”赵太后说：“男人也疼爱他们的小儿子吗？”触龙回答说：“比女人还厉害。”赵太后笑着说：“女人更疼爱自己的小儿子。”触龙回答说：“我私下认为老夫人您对燕国王后的疼爱超过了对长安君的疼爱。”赵太后说：“您错了，比对长安君的疼爱差远了。”



walk quickly. That's why I haven't been able to see you for a long time. I can forgive myself personally. However, I am afraid that you might also not feel well. So I wish sincerely to see you." The queen mother said, "Every time I go out, I take a carriage." Chu Long asked, "How about your everyday nourishment?" The queen mother said, "I only eat some porridge." Chu Long said, "Recently I haven't had any appetite. So I forced myself to take a walk and I usually walked three to four *li* every day. Then my appetite became a little better and I felt more comfortable." The queen mother said, "I cannot walk that far." And she looked less angry.

The Left Master said, "Shu Qi, my youngest son, is very unworthy. I am getting old and my health has deteriorated. But I love him very much. So I want him to become one of the guards who defend our palace. I am here to inform you about this even though I might offend you and therefore be sentenced to death." The queen mother said, "It doesn't matter at all. How old is he?" Chu Long replied, "He is fifteen years old. Although he is still young, I want to entrust him to you when I am still alive." The queen mother asked, "Do men also love their youngest sons?" Chu Long replied, "Yes, they love them more than women do." The queen mother laughed and said, "I think women love their youngest sons more than men do." Chu Long said, "I personally think that you love the queen of Yan much more than you love Lord Chang'an." The queen mother said, "You are wrong. I don't love her as much as I love Lord Chang'an."



【原文】

左师公曰：“父母之爱子，则为之计深远。媼之送燕后也，持其踵为之泣，念悲其远也，亦哀之矣！已行，非弗思也，祭祀必祝之，祝曰：‘必勿使反！’岂非计久长有子孙相继为王也哉？”太后曰：“然。”左师公曰：“今三世以前，至于赵之为赵，赵主之子孙侯者，其继有在者乎？”曰：“无有。”曰：“微独赵，诸侯有在者乎？”曰：“老妇不闻也。”“此其近者祸及身，远者及其子孙。岂人主之子孙则必不善哉？位尊而无功，奉厚而无劳，而挟重器多也。今媼尊长安君之位，而封之以膏腴之地，多予之重器，

【今译】

左师触龙说：“父母疼爱孩子，就要为他们做长远的打算。老夫人您在送燕国王后走的时候，握住她的脚后跟，为了她而哭泣，想到她远嫁他国，心里悲伤，也很为她感到悲哀了。她出嫁以后，您并非不思念她，但每次祭祀的时候都必定为她祈祷，祝愿道：‘一定不要把她的送回来。’难道不是为她做长久打算，让她的子孙后代能够继承王位吗？”赵太后说：“是这样的。”

左师触龙说：“从现在算的三代以前，到赵国最初建国的时候，赵王的子孙被分封为侯的，他们的后代还有仍然在位的吗？”赵太后说：“没有。”触龙说：“不仅仅是赵国，其他诸侯的子孙还有仍然在位的吗？”赵太后说：“我没有听说。”触龙说：“从近处讲，自身会遭受祸害；从远处讲，会殃及子孙。难道国君的子孙就一定不好吗？他们地位尊贵却没有功劳，俸禄优厚却不需要付出辛劳，而且把持着很多重要的宝物。如今老夫人您安排给长安君非常尊贵的职位，而且赐封给他肥美的土地，还给他很多重要的宝物，却不让他现在为赵国建立功勋。一旦您辞世



The Left Master said, "Parents' love for their children lies in the fact that they always plan for them properly and thoroughly. When you sent the princess to the state of Yan, you held her ankle and cried since she was going to get married in a distant state. You felt very sorry for her. Nonetheless, after she got married, whenever you hold a ceremony, you will pray as follows: 'Don't send her back.' Doesn't that mean that you are making a long-term plan for her to ensure that her offspring will take over the regime and become kings of Yan for generations?" The queen mother said, "Yes, that's true."

The Left Master said, "Three generations ago, at the time when our state had just been established, many offspring of the royal family were entitled to be marquises. Is any of them still in power?" The queen mother said, "I don't think so." Chu Long said, "Apart from our state, are the offspring of other states' sovereigns still in power?" The queen mother said, "I haven't heard about it." "For sovereigns, the nearest misfortune is to experience a disastrous end for themselves, and the farthest one is to cause severe trouble for their descendants. Aren't the descendants of sovereigns excellent enough? They hold powerful high positions but are of no benefit to the state. They enjoy very generous salaries but are not doing anything useful for the state. Yet, they normally control a lot of valuable things. Now you have appointed Lord Chang'an to a very powerful position, conferred a lot of fertile land on him, and presented him with many valuable treasures. However, you refuse to give him the chance to



【原文】

而不及今令有功于国。一旦山陵崩，长安君何以自托于赵？老臣以媼为长安君计短也，故以为其爱不若燕后。”太后曰：“诺。恣君之所使之。”于是为长安君约车百乘质于齐，齐兵乃出。

子义闻之，曰：“人主之子也，骨肉之亲也，犹不能恃无功之尊，无劳之奉，而守金玉之重也，而况人臣乎？”

【今译】

而去，长安君凭借什么在赵国立身？我认为老夫人您为长安君打算得很短浅，所以以为您对他的爱比不上对燕国王后的爱。”赵太后说：“好吧，任凭您来支配他吧。”于是，触龙为长安君备好一百辆车子，送他到齐国做人质，齐国才派出兵营救赵国。

子义听说这件事后说：“国君的孩子是君主的亲骨肉，没有功劳还不能享有尊贵的职位，没有苦劳还不能享受优厚的俸禄并把持黄金、美玉等重宝，何况作为人臣的呢？”

秦使王翦攻赵

【原文】

秦使王翦攻赵，赵使李牧、司马尚御之。李牧数破走秦军，杀秦将桓齮。王翦恶之，乃多与赵王宠臣郭开等金，使为反间，曰：“李牧、司马

【今译】

秦国派王翦进攻赵国，赵王派李牧、司马尚率兵抵抗秦军。李牧屡次将秦军击败、击退，杀死秦军将领桓齮。王翦很讨厌他，于是就送给赵王宠臣郭开等人很多金子，让他们从事反间活动，说：“李牧和司马尚



make some contributions to the state. When you pass away, what can Lord Chang'an rely on in order to maintain the regime of Zhao? I don't think you have planned properly for Lord Chang'an. That's why I said you love the queen of Yan more." The queen mother said, "I see. You can assign him any task."

Chu Long had one hundred carriages prepared for Lord Chang'an and sent him to Qi as a hostage. So Qi sent its troops to help Zhao.

When Ziyi heard of this story, he said, "Princes and Princesses are very close relatives to sovereigns. However, such people cannot hold powerful high positions, enjoy generous salaries, or possess valuable things such as gold, precious jade or other valuable treasures if they are not useful to the state at all, not to mention the court officials."

Qin Sent Wang Jian to Attack Zhao

The state of Qin sent Wang Jian to lead troops to attack the state of Zhao. Zhao designated Li Mu and Sima Shang to command its armies to confront the invading troops. Li Mu defeated the enemy troops several times, forced them to retreat, and also killed Huan Yi, one of the enemy generals. Wang Jian hated these two people, so he bribed Guo Kai and other beloved court officials of the king of Zhao with a lot of gold and asked them to sow discord between Li Mu and Sima Shang and the king of Zhao by declaring, "In order to gain more rewards from the state of Qin, Li Mu and Sima Shang



【原文】

尚欲与秦反赵，以多取封于秦。”赵王疑之，使赵葱及颜最代将，斩李牧，废司马尚。后三月，王翦因急击，大破赵，杀赵军，虏赵王迁及其将颜最，遂灭赵。

【今译】

想跟秦国反叛赵国，以便从秦国领取更多的封赏。”赵王对他们起了疑心，派赵葱和颜最取代他们为将军，杀了李牧，罢免了司马尚。三个月后，王翦趁机发动猛烈进攻，大大击败了赵军，杀死赵葱，俘虏了赵王迁以及他的将领颜最，于是消灭了赵国。

are going to join Qin in acting against our state." The king of Zhao became distrustful of them, so he sent General Zhao Cong and General Yan Zui to replace them. After that, he killed Li Mu and dismissed Sima Shang from office. Three months later, Wang Jian took occasion to launch violent attacks on Zhao, badly defeating the troops of Zhao, killing Zhao Cong and capturing King Qian of Zhao as well as Zhao Cong. As a result, the state of Zhao was ruined.



卷二十二 魏 一

知伯索地于魏桓子

【原文】

知伯索地于魏桓子，魏桓子弗予。任章曰：“何故弗予？”桓子曰：“无故索地，故弗予。”任章曰：“无故索地，邻国必恐；重欲无厌，天下必惧。君予之地，知伯必骄。骄而轻敌，邻国惧而相亲。以相亲之兵待轻敌之国，知氏之命不长矣。《周书》曰：‘将欲败之，必姑辅之；将欲取之，必姑与之。’君不如与之，以骄知伯。君何释以天下图知氏，而独以吾国为知氏质乎？”君曰：“善。”乃与之万家之邑一。知伯大说，因索（蔡）

【今译】

知伯向魏桓子索要土地，魏桓子不给他。任章问道：“因为什么原因不给他？”桓子说：“无缘无故索要土地，所以不给。”任章说：“无缘无故索要土地，邻近的国家一定会感到惊恐；贪得无厌，天下各国必定会感到害怕。您给了知伯土地，他必定会很骄傲。骄傲就会轻敌，邻近的国家害怕了，就会互相亲善。用互相亲善的国家的兵力来抵御轻敌的国家，知伯的命就长不了了。《周书》中说：‘想要败坏他，务必暂且辅助他；想要剥夺他，务必暂且给予他。’您不如给知伯，来让他骄傲。您为什么放弃利用天下各国来图谋知伯的机会，而唯独使我们的国家成为他的要挟对象呢？”魏桓子说：“好。”于是给知伯一座拥有一万户人家的城邑。知伯非常高兴，于是向赵国索要蔺和皋狼。赵国不给，于是知伯

The First Volume on Wei

Marquis Zhi Asked for Some Territory from Wei Huanzi

Marquis Zhi asked Wei Huanzi for some territory, but Wei Huanzi wouldn't agree. Ren Zhang said, "Why not give him some land?" Huanzi said, "He demanded land from me without reason, so I won't give him any." Ren Zhang said, "By demanding land without reason, one will make the neighbouring states frightened. By seeking to fulfill endless cupidity, all states of the world will feel under severe threat. If you give him the land, Marquis Zhi will become arrogant. If he is arrogant, he won't pay attention to enemy states. If the neighbouring states are frightened, they will ally with each other. If a state not paying attention to its enemies is confronted by allied forces drawn from those states which are close to each other, Marquis Zhi will soon lose his life. It is said in *Zhoushu*, 'If you want to defeat a person, make sure to assist him first. If you want to deprive him of something, make sure to bestow upon him something first.' You'd better agree to give him the land to make him arrogant. Why give up the opportunity for scheming against Marquis Zhi with all other states of the world but make our own state his target?" Wei Huanzi said, "Good idea." So he ceded Marquis Zhi a county with ten thousand families. Marquis Zhi was very happy. As a result, he demanded the regions of Lin and



【原文】

[藺]、皋(梁)[狼]于赵，赵弗与，因围晋阳。韩、魏反于外，赵氏应之于内，知氏遂亡。

【今译】

围困晋阳。韩国和魏国从城外反叛，赵国军队在城内与韩国、魏国的军队呼应，知伯很快就灭亡了。

韩赵相难

【原文】

韩、赵相难。韩索兵于魏曰：“愿得借师以伐赵。”魏文侯曰：“寡人与赵兄弟，不敢从。”赵又索兵以攻韩，文侯曰：“寡人与韩兄弟，不敢从。”二国不得兵，怒而反。已，乃知文侯以讲于己也，皆朝魏。

【今译】

韩国和赵国互相为敌。韩国派人到魏国去请求救兵，说：“希望能派兵增援我们攻打赵国。”魏文侯说：“我跟赵王是兄弟，不敢听从命令。”赵国又派人请求救兵进攻韩国，魏文侯说：“我跟韩王是兄弟，不敢听从命令。”韩国和赵国的使者得不到救兵，愤怒地回去了。过了一段时间，才知道魏文侯是以此为自己讲和，就都到魏国去朝拜。

乐羊为魏将而攻中山

【原文】

乐羊为魏将而攻中山。其子在中山，中山之君烹其子而遗之羹，乐

【今译】

乐羊做魏国的将领，攻打中山国。他的儿子在中山，中山国的君主把他的儿子煮了，并且送给他一些带汁水的肉。乐羊坐在帐幕下，把一



Gaolang from the state of Zhao. Zhao rejected him. Then Marquis Zhi besieged Jinyang. The troops of the state of Han and those of the state of Wei attacked from outside and those of Zhao launched a converging attack on Marquis Zhi from within. So the Zhis were exterminated.

Han and Zhao Antagonized Each Other

The state of Han and the state of Zhao antagonized each other. Han asked the state of Wei for reinforcements and said, "Please send some troops to help us attack Zhao." Marquis Wen of Wei said, "The king of Zhao and I are brothers. I dare not follow your order." Then Zhao also asked for reinforcements to attack Han. Marquis Wen said, "The king of Han and I are brothers. I dare not follow your order." As these two states couldn't obtain reinforcements from Wei, their messengers returned. They both became angry. However, after some time, they realized that Marquis Wen was trying to help them reach a ceasefire. So they both went to the court of Wei to pay homage to the marquis.

Yue Yang Served as Commander-in-Chief of Wei to Attack Zhongshan

Yue Yang served as Commander-in-Chief of the state of Wei during the war against the state of Zhongshan. His son was in Zhongshan. The sovereign of Zhongshan cooked his son alive and gave Yue Yang some meat broth made from his



【原文】

羊坐于幕下而啜之，尽一杯。文侯谓睹师赞曰：“乐羊以我之故，食其子之肉。”赞对曰：“其子之肉尚食之，其谁不食！”乐羊既罢中山，文侯赏其功而疑其心。

【今译】

整杯都吃光了。魏文侯对睹师赞说：“乐羊因为我的缘故而吃了他儿子的肉。”睹师赞回答说：“他儿子的肉还能吃得下，还有谁的肉不能吃！”乐羊攻打中山回来，魏文侯奖赏他的功劳，却怀疑他的忠心。

西门豹为邺令

【原文】

西门豹为邺令，而辞乎魏文侯。文侯曰：“子往矣！必就子之功而成子之名。”西门豹曰：“敢问就功成名，亦有术乎？”文侯曰：“有之。夫乡邑老者而先受坐之士，子入而问其贤良之士而师事之，求其好掩人之美而扬人之丑者而参验之。夫物多相类而非也：幽莠之幼也似禾，骊牛之黄也似虎，白骨疑象，武夫类玉。此皆似之而非者也。”

【今译】

西门豹出任邺地的长官，向魏文侯辞行。魏文侯说：“你到了那里，一定要功成名就。”西门豹问：“斗胆问一句，有什么办法能做到功成名就吗？”魏文侯说：“有。你去向乡村、城邑中受尊敬的老人打听贤良的士人并且拜他们为师；找那些喜欢隐瞒别人的优点而宣扬别人的过失的人，考察核对他们的话是否正确。很多事物似是而非：狗尾草的幼苗像禾苗，野牛黄色的皮毛像老虎，白色的骨头被怀疑是象牙，武夫石像玉。这些都是似是而非的东西。”



son's flesh. Yue Yang sat down beside his tent and finished a whole bowl of it. Marquis Wen of Wei told Dushi Zan, "Look, Yue Yang ate the meat of his own son for my sake." Dushi Zan said, "Well, if he eats the meat of his own son, who else's meat will he refuse?" After Yue Yang returned from Zhongshan, Marquis Wen rewarded him due to his great contributions, but was sceptical about his loyalty.

Ximen Bao Was Appointed as Chief Official of Ye

Ximen Bao was appointed as chief official of Ye. Before he left for Ye, he went to say good-bye to Marquis Wen of Wei. Marquis Wen said, "You go there to make great contributions and gain a high reputation." Ximen Bao asked, "Is there any way of making great contributions and gaining a high reputation?" Marquis Wen said, "Yes. After you arrive there, go to visit those respectable old people in every town and village and ask them to recommend worthy scholars to you. Then you can regard these scholars as mentors and learn from them. Look for those trying to cover up others' strong points and exposing their shortcomings and then verify their statements to see whether or not they are true. Many things are specious. Young foxtail grass looks like cereal crops. One might confuse the yellow skin of a urus with that of a tiger. White bones are thought to be ivories. Wufu (referring to a kind of stone which looks like jade) look like jade. All these things are specious."

文侯与虞人期猎

【原文】

文侯与虞人期猎。是日，饮酒乐，天雨。文侯将出，左右曰：“今日饮酒乐，天又雨，公将焉之？”文侯曰：“吾与虞人期猎，虽乐，岂可不一会期哉？”乃往，身自罢之。魏于是乎始强。

【今译】

魏文侯跟一个猎人相约一起打猎。到了约定的那一天，魏文侯正在饮酒，气氛非常愉快，天空中也下着雨。魏文侯将要出门，他身边的人说：“今天饮酒，气氛非常快乐，天又下着雨，您要到哪里去？”魏文侯说：“我跟猎人约好一起打猎，虽然我们现在的宴饮很快乐，但难道可以不赴约吗？”于是就赴约前往打猎，直到自己筋疲力尽。魏国从此开始强盛起来。



魏文侯与田子方饮酒而称乐

【原文】

魏文侯与田子方饮酒而称乐。文侯曰：“钟声不比乎，左高。”田子方笑。文侯曰：“奚笑？”子方曰：“臣闻之，君明则乐官，不明则乐音。今

【今译】

魏文侯跟田子方一起边饮酒边弹奏音乐。魏文侯说：“钟声不协调吧？左边的声音高。”田子方笑了。魏文侯问道：“你笑什么呀？”田子方说：“我听说，国君英明就会乐于处理国家大事，不英明就会喜欢音乐。如今您通晓音律，我担心您对国家大事不够精通啊。”魏文侯说：“说得



Marquis Wen of Wei Had an Appointment with a Hunter

Marquis Wen of Wei made an appointment with a hunter that they would go hunting together. On the appointed day, the marquis held a banquet and the atmosphere of it was very happy. It also rained. Marquis Wen was going to leave. People around him asked, "Now we are enjoying the banquet very much and it is raining outside. Where are you going, Sir?" Marquis Wen said, "I have made an appointment with a hunter and promised to go hunting with him. Even though the atmosphere of the banquet is very good, how can I break my word!" He then went to meet the hunter and didn't return until he was exhausted. The state of Wei became stronger and stronger after that.

Marquis Wen of Wei Had a Drink with Tian Zifang and They Played Some Tunes Together

Once Marquis Wen of the state of Wei was enjoying a drink with Tian Zifang and they played some tunes together during the banquet. Marquis Wen said, "Probably the bells are not harmonious. The tones of those on the left side are higher." Tian Zifang laughed. Marquis Wen asked, "Why did you laugh?" Tian Zifang said, "I have heard that if a sovereign is wise, he will care about government affairs. If not, he will be addicted to music. Now you are so familiar with tones and pitches, I am afraid that you might have



【原文】

君申于声，臣恐君之聒于官也。”文侯曰：“善！敬闻命。”

【今译】

好，我恭敬地遵从您的教导。”

魏武侯与诸大夫浮于西河

【原文】

魏武侯与诸大夫浮于西河，称曰：“河山之险，岂不亦信固哉！”王（钟）[错]侍（王）[座]，曰：“此晋国之所以强也。若善修之，则霸王之业具矣。”吴起对曰：“吾君之言，危国之道也；而子又附之，是危也。”武侯忿然曰：“子之言有说乎？”

吴起对曰：“河山之险，信不足保也，是伯王之业，不从此也。昔者三苗之居，左彭蠡之波，右有洞庭之水，文山在其南，而衡山在其北。恃

【今译】

魏武侯与各位大臣一起在西河上乘船游玩，他赞叹道：“我们的河山，形势险阻，难道不是非常巩固的吗？”王错陪坐在一旁说：“这就是晋国之所以强大的原因啊。如果善于修治它们，就能够成就统一天下或称霸诸侯的大业了。”吴起回答说：“我们国君所说的是导致国家危亡的道路，而您又附和这些话，这是让我们的国家陷入双重危亡。”魏武侯气愤地说：“你的话有什么根据吗？”吴起回答说：“河山的险阻的确不足以保卫国家，况且一统天下或者成就霸业并不是因为这个。从前，三苗所在的地方，左边有彭蠡湖，右边有洞庭湖，文山在它南面，衡山在它北



overlooked government affairs." Marquis Wen said, "I see. I will follow your instructions respectfully."

Marquis Wu of Wei Were Playing by Water in the Xihe River with His High-ranking Court Officials

Marquis Wu of the state of Wei were playing by water in the Xehi River with his high-ranking court officials. The marquis said with self-satisfaction, "With the protection of our dangerous rivers and mountains, isn't our state safe enough?" Wang Cuo was sitting beside the marquis and he said, "That's why the three states used to belong to the state of Jin have become very powerful and strong. If we can maintain them successfully, you will be qualified to unify the world and become King or at least become Lord-protector." Wu Qi replied, "The words of His Majesty will lead our state to the verge of destruction. You supported his points. This will put our state into double danger." Marquis Wu was irritated and said angrily, "Is your argument warranted?" Wu Qi replied, "Natural strategic barriers such as dangerous rivers or mountains are surely not enough to ensure the safety of a state. Moreover, unifying the world to become King or establishing one of the most powerful states to become Lord-protector is never exclusively based on such strategic barriers. Previously, the territory of the Sanmiao people had the Pengli Lake on the left side, the Dongting Lake on the right, Mount Wen in the south and Mount Heng in the north. Although they had these strategic places, they did not



【原文】

此险也，为政不善，而禹放逐之。夫夏桀之国，左天门之阴，而右天溪之阳，庐、摯在其北，伊、洛出其南。有此险也，然为政不善，而汤伐之。殷纣之国，左孟门而右漳、釜，前带河，后被山。有此险也，然为政不善，而武王伐之。且君亲从臣而胜降城，城非不高也，人民非不众也，然而可得并者，政恶故也。从是观之，地形险阻，奚足以霸王矣！”武侯曰：“善。吾乃今日闻圣人之言也。西河之政，专委之子矣。”

【今译】

面。倚仗着这些险阻，不好好地治理国家，因而禹流放了他们。再说夏桀的王国，左边是天门山的北侧，右边是天溪的北岸，庐山、峯山在它北面，伊水、洛水流经它的南面。有这么多险阻，却不能好好处理国事，因而汤讨伐他。商纣的王国，左边是孟门山，右边是漳水和釜水，前面有黄河穿过，后面靠着太行山。有这么多险阻，却不能好好处理国事，因而武王征伐他。况且大王亲自和我一起攻克过别国的城邑，它们的城墙并非不高，百姓并非不众多，然而我们却能够兼并它们，是因为它们政治险恶的缘故。由此看来，地形险阻怎能足以一统天下或成就霸业呢？”魏武侯说：“说得好。我今天才听到圣人的言论啊！治理西河的任务就专门委托给您了。”

魏公叔痤为魏将

【原文】

魏公叔痤为魏将，而与韩、赵战浹北，禽乐祚。魏王说，迎郊，以赏

【今译】

魏国的公叔痤担任魏国的大将，跟韩国和赵国的军队在浹水以北



manage government affairs successfully. So Yu exiled their ruler. As for the kingdom of Jie of the Xia Dynasty, it had the northern slope of Mount Tianmen on the left side and the northern bank of the Tianxi River on the right. In addition, Mount Lu and Mount Gao were in the north, and the Yishui River and the Luoshui River used to flow across its southern part. Despite these strategic places, Jie did not manage government affairs successfully. So Tang attacked him. As for the kingdom of Zhou of the Shang Dynasty, it had Mount Mengmen on the left side, the Zhangshui River and the Fushui River on the right side. The Yellow River flew across it in the south, and Mount Taihang was in the north. Although based on such strategic places, Zhou could not manage government affairs successfully. So King Wu attacked him. Besides, Your Majesty has joined me in attacking and occupying some enemy towns and cities in person. It is not that their protective walls were not tall enough, or that they didn't have enough people to defend them. We annexed them because they didn't follow the right policies. From this point of view, how can you rely on strategic places exclusively in order to unify the world and become King, or establish one of the most powerful states and become Lord-protector?" Marquis Wu said, "Very good! I haven't heard the words of a sage till today! I am going to appoint you to administer the area of Xihe."

Gongshu Cuo Served as Commander-in-Chief of Wei

Gongshu Cuo of the state of Wei served as Commander-



【原文】

田百万禄之。公叔痤反走，再拜辞曰：“夫使士卒不崩，直而不倚，挠拣而不辟者，此吴起余教也，臣不能为也。前脉形地之险阻，决利害之备，使三军之士不迷惑者，巴宁、囊襄之力也。县赏罚于前，使民昭然信之于后者，王之明法也。见敌之可也，鼓之不敢怠倦者，臣也。王特为臣之右手不倦赏臣，何也？若以臣之有功，臣何力之有乎？”王曰：“善。”于是索吴起之后，赐之田二十万。巴宁、囊襄田各十万。

王曰：“公叔岂非长者哉！既为寡人胜强敌矣，又不遗贤者之后，不

【今译】

交战，活捉了乐祚。魏王很高兴，亲自到郊外迎接，赏赐给他一百万亩土地。公叔痤倒退了几步，拜了两拜推辞说：“让士卒不溃散，坚强不屈，强敌压来也不退却，这是吴起遗留下来的教导，不是我自己的。上前观察地势的险阻，决定攻守大计，让三军将士没有疑惑，是巴宁、囊襄的功劳。订立赏罚制度于前，让百姓明确遵守于后，是大王英明的法律。看到敌军有机可乘，不知疲倦地进攻他们的，是我。大王仅仅因为我的右手一直在忙碌着而奖赏我，是可以的。如果认为我有功，那么我出过什么力呢？”魏王说：“好。”于是寻找吴起的后人，赏赐给他二十万亩土地。赏给巴宁和囊襄的后代各十万亩。

魏王说：“公叔痤难道不是个德高望重的人吗？已经为我战胜了强



in-Chief to confront the combined forces of Han and Zhao on the northern bank of the Huishui River and captured Yue Zuo. The king of Wei was very happy about it, so he went to the suburbs of the capital to welcome Gongshu Cuo in person, and rewarded him with one million *mu* of land. Facing the marquis, Gongshu Cuo quickly walked a few steps backwards, bowed twice towards him, rejected the reward and said, "Holding officers and men together, encouraging them to be of one mind, and confronting the enemies without showing any sign of fear are instructions that come down from Wu Qi. I didn't invent them myself. As to observing the conditions of dangerous places, using correct strategies, and giving clear signals and orders to officers and men of all the armies, I learned these skills from the tactics of Ba Ning and Cuan Xiang. Stipulating the regulations of dispensing rewards and punishments in advance and so making people follow them later should be a wise law of Your Majesty. The one who took occasion to launch constant attacks against the enemy troops was I. If Your Majesty reward me because I have always kept busy confronting our enemies, that's all right. However, if you consider me as having made great contributions, I am not meritorious in this regard." The king said, "Very good." Then he looked for the offspring of Wu Qi and rewarded them with two hundred thousand *mu* of land. He also rewarded the offspring of Ba Ning and Cuan Xiang with one hundred thousand *mu* of land respectively.

The king said, "Isn't Gongshu a respectable person? After he defeated my formidable enemies, he didn't forget



【原文】

掩能士之迹，公叔何可无益乎？”故又与田四十万，加之百万之上，使百四十万。故《老子》曰：“圣人无积，尽以为人，己愈有；既以与人，己愈多。”公叔当之矣。

【今译】

大的敌人，又不忘贤人的后代，不掩盖有才干的人的业绩。不追加公叔痤的赏赐怎么行呢？”所以又给他四十万亩土地，加上那一百万亩，是一百四十万。所以《老子》中说：“圣人自己不积蓄，都送给别人，自己就越富有；给了别人以后，自己拥有的就越多。”公叔痤就是这样的。

魏公叔痤病

【原文】

魏公叔痤病，惠王往问之，曰：“公叔病，即不可讳，将奈社稷何？”公叔痤对曰：“痤有御庶子公孙鞅，愿王以国事听之也。为弗能听，勿使出竟。”王弗应，出而谓左右曰：“岂不悲哉！以公叔之贤，而谓寡人必以国事听鞅，不亦悖乎！”

公叔痤死，公孙鞅闻之，已葬，西之秦，孝公受而用之。秦果日以

【今译】

魏国的公叔痤生病了，魏惠王前去慰问他，说：“公叔病了，假如不幸辞世，国家该怎么办呢？”公叔痤回答说：“我有一个家臣叫公孙鞅，希望大王按照他的意见来处理国家大事。如果不能听从他的意见，就不要让他离开魏国到别国去。”魏惠王答应着，出来后却对身边的人说：“难道不是太可悲了吗？凭着公叔的贤能，却让我一定要按照公孙鞅的意思来处理国家大事，不是太糊涂了吗？”

公叔痤死后，公孙鞅听说了这件事，公叔痤下葬以后，他就西行来



the offspring of worthy people or cover up the contributions of capable scholars. Shouldn't I bestow more land upon him?" Then he conferred another four hundred thousand *mu* of land on Gongshu Cuo. The one million *mu* he had already obtained being added, he was rewarded one million four hundred thousand *mu*. So, it is said in *Laozi*, "Sages don't accumulate wealth for themselves. They distribute it to others, and therefore, they become even wealthier. After they present their possessions to others, more will be conferred on them." Gongshu Cuo's act attests to this statement.

Gongshu Cuo of Wei Was Sick

Gongshu Cuo of the state of Wei was sick and King Hui went to condole him on his illness. The king said, "Now you are sick. If we are unfortunate that we lose you, how can I govern the state?" Gongshu Cuo replied, "I have a personal officer whose name is Gongsun Yang. I hope that Your Majesty can take his advice in handling government affairs. If you don't listen to his opinions, please make sure that he not leave for another state." The king didn't agree to do that. He went out and told the people around him, "How tragic it is! As wise and capable as Gongshu Cuo is, how could he ask me to take Gongsun Yang's advice in managing all the government affairs? Isn't he muddle-headed?"

Then Gongshu Cuo died, and Gongsun Yang heard about this story. After Gongshu Cuo was buried, he went to the



【原文】

强，魏日以削。此非公叔之悖也，惠王之悖也。悖者之患，固以不悖者为悖。

【今译】

到秦国，秦孝公接纳了他，并任用他做官。秦国果然日益强盛，魏国果然日益削弱。这并不是公叔痤糊涂，而是魏惠王本人糊涂。糊涂的人的毛病就在于把不糊涂的人当作是糊涂的。

苏子为赵合从

【原文】

苏子为赵合从，说魏王曰：“大王之地，南有鸿沟、陈、汝南、有许、鄢、昆阳、邵陵、舞阳、新鄆，东有淮、颍、沂、黄、煮枣、海盐、无繇，西有长城之界，北有河外、卷、衍、燕、酸枣，地方千里。地名虽小，然而庐田庑舍，曾无所刍牧牛马之地。人民之众，车马之多，日夜行不休已，无以异于三军之众。臣窃料之，大王之国不下于楚。然横人谋王，外交强虎狼

【今译】

苏秦为赵国进行合纵活动，游说魏王说：“大王的国土，南面有鸿沟、陈、汝南、许、鄢、昆阳、邵陵、舞阳、新鄆，东面有淮河、颍水、沂水、黄、煮枣、海盐、无繇，西面有长城作为边界，北面有河外、卷、衍、燕、酸枣，领土方圆一千里。领土名义上虽然小，然而处处是田间房舍，没有放牧牛马的地方。百姓众多，车马繁多，日日夜夜川流不息，数目跟三军的士卒差不多。我私下估计，大王的国家，不在楚国之下。然而主张



west to the state of Qin. King Xiao of Qin accepted him and appointed him to govern the state. The state of Qin became stronger and stronger. On the other hand, the state of Wei became weaker and weaker. Hence, Gongshu Cuo was not muddle-headed, but King Hui himself was muddle-headed. The problem of muddle-headed people is that they always regard wise people as muddle-headed.

On Behalf of Zhao, Su Qin Persuaded Wei's King to Join Hezong

Su Qin advocated Hezong on behalf of the state of Zhao. He went to persuade the king of the state of Wei and said, "Regarding the territory of Your Majesty, you have Honggou, Chen, Runan, Xu, Yan, Kunyang, Shaoling, Wuyang and Xinqi in the south, and the Huaihe River, the Yingshui River, the Yishui River, Huang, Zhuzao, Haiyan and Wushu in the east. You have the Great Wall as a border in the west and own Hewai, Juan, Yan, Yan and Suanzao in the north. Altogether your territory is about one thousand square *li*. Nominally it is a small state, but there are arable fields and houses everywhere. However, there is no grassland to raise cows and horses. It has numerous people, a lot of horses and carriages, and they travel on the road day and night. The number of its huge population almost matches the total number of the officers and men of its three armies of our state. Personally I estimate the state of Your Majesty can match the state of Chu in strength. However, people



【原文】

之秦，以侵天下，卒有国患，不被其祸。夫挟强秦之势以内劫其主，罪无过此者。且魏，天下之强国也；大王，天下之贤主也。今乃有意西面而事秦，称东藩，筑帝宫，受冠带，祠春秋，臣窃为大王愧之。

“臣闻越王句践以散卒三千禽夫差于干遂；武王卒三千人，革车三百乘，斩纣于牧之野。岂其士卒众哉？诚能振其威也！今窃闻大王之卒，武力二十余万，苍头二（千）[十]万，奋击二十万，厮徒十万，车六百

【今译】

连横的人为大王谋划，对外结交强大的、如虎狼一般残暴的秦国来侵吞天下，最终导致国家被入侵，他们自己却遭受不到任何祸患。倚仗着强大的秦国的势力，在国内要挟自己的君主，再没有比这更加罪恶深重的了。再说魏国是天下的强国，大王是天下贤明的君主，如今却有意向西侍奉秦王，自称东部的属国，为秦王修建行宫，接受秦王赏赐的朝服，向秦国交纳春秋祭祀的贡赋，我私下为大王感到惭愧。

“我听说越王勾践凭借三千名零散的士卒，在干遂将夫差活捉；周武王率领三千名士卒、三百辆战车，在牧野将纣击杀。难道只凭士卒的众多吗？是因为他们的确能够振奋士卒的威势。如今我私下听说，大王的士卒中有二十多万武士、二十万用青巾裹头的士卒、二十万勇士、十万闲杂人员，有六百辆战车、五千匹战马。这已经远远超过越王勾践



advocating Lian Heng are making plans for Your Majesty and suggest and you unite with the strong, powerful and covetous Qin and support it to encroach on other states of the world. This will finally lead to aggression launched by the state of Qin. But these people won't shoulder the severe responsibility with you in any case. With the strength of the powerful Qin, they coerce the sovereigns of their states into doing things according to their will. Nothing can be more sinful. Wei is a powerful state. And Your Majesty is a wise and capable sovereign of the world. Nonetheless, you are intending to go to the west to submit to Qin's authority, declare your state to be its eastern dependency, build a Xanadu for Qin's king in your state, accept the robe and hat awarded by Qin's king and present him with offerings at ceremonies held both in spring and in autumn. I personally feel very sorry for Your Majesty.

"I heard that Gou Jian, the king of the state of Yue, led three thousand soldiers to attack the state of Wu and held Fu Chai, the king of Wu, in Gansui. King Wu of the Zhou Dynasty led three thousand soldiers and three hundred chariots to attack Zhou and killed him in Muye. They didn't have numerous soldiers, but the morale of their officers and men was really very high, so their troops were formidable and invincible. Privately I have heard about the military force of Your Majesty and know that you have more than two hundred thousand warriors, two hundred thousand troops whose heads are bound with black scarves, two hundred thousand brave soldiers and one hundred thousand men serving as batmen.



【原文】

乘，骑五千疋。此其过越王句践、武王远矣！今乃劫于辟臣之说，而欲臣事秦。夫事秦，必割地效（质）[实]，故兵未用而国已亏矣。凡群臣之言事秦者，皆奸臣，非忠臣也。夫为人臣，割其主之地以求外交，偷取一旦之功而不顾其后，破公家而成私门，外挟强秦之势以内劫其主，以求割地，愿大王之熟察之也。

“《周书》曰：‘绵绵不绝，纍纍奈何？毫毛不拔，将成斧柯。’前虑不定，后有大患，将奈之何？大王诚能听臣，六国从亲，专心并力，则必无强秦之患。故敝邑赵王使使臣献愚计，奉明约，在大王诏之。”魏王曰：

【今译】

和周武王当初的兵力了。如今却被奸邪之臣所胁迫，打算臣服并侍奉秦国。侍奉秦国必定要割让土地、进献宝物，所以还没有用兵，国家就已经被削弱了。大臣们当中提议侍奉秦国的，都是奸臣，而不是忠臣。作为臣子，割让自己的君主的土地来求得结交别的国家，窃取暂时的功劳而不顾后果，损害国家利益来为自己谋私利，在外倚仗强大的秦国的势力以在国内要挟自己的君主，求得割让封地，希望大王仔细审察这件事。

“《周书》中说：‘细细的蔓藤连绵不绝，缠缠绕绕又能如何？幼弱的小苗不被拔掉，长大后就会被制成斧柄。’事前犹豫不决，以后必有大祸。那将怎么办呢？大王如果真的能听从我的建议，六个国家联合起来，齐心协力，就一定不会有强大的秦国带来的灾祸。所以我们赵国的君主派我来献上愚计，奉上明确的盟约，一切听从大王的指令。”魏王



You also have six hundred chariots and five thousand war horses. Your military force is much more formidable than that of both Gou Jian, the king of Yue, and King Wu of the Zhou Dynasty. However, recently you have been confused by some evil court officials' opinions and therefore are ready to submit to Qin's authority. If you submit to Qin's authority, you will have to cede some land and present some treasures to Qin. Thus your state will be weakened without using the troops. Those court officials who suggest submitting to Qin are all evil court officials and are not loyal to you at all. As court officials of your state, in order to establish private relationship with other states, they are engaged in ceding some of your territory to foreign states, enjoying short-term profit but overlooking the aftermath, and taking advantage of your state to benefit themselves. With the strength of the powerful Qin, they coerce their sovereign into ceding some land. I hope Your Majesty examine this.

"It is said in *Zhoushu*, 'Vines are very slim and long. They twist together. How can they be eradicated? If a small seedling is not uprooted, it can grow and be made into an axe handle.' If you don't make a decision in advance, you will get into severe trouble later on. How can you deal with it then? If you really take my advice, the Six States can be unified and make a concerted effort to confront the state of Qin. Thus we can prevent the aggression of the powerful Qin. Hence, the king of our small state has sent me here to set forth my viewpoints and present you our unambiguous agreement. We look forward to taking orders from Your



【原文】

“寡人不肖，未尝得闻明教。今主君以赵王之诏诏之，敬以国从。”

【今译】

说：“我很愚钝，没有听到过英明的指教。今天您用赵王的教导指示我，我带领我的国家恭敬地听从命令。”

张仪为秦连横说魏王

【原文】

张仪为秦连横，说魏王曰：“魏地方不至千里，卒不过三十万人。地四平，诸侯四通，条达辅凑，无有名山大川之阻。从郑至梁，不过百里；从陈至梁，二百余里。马驰人趋，不待倦而至梁。（梁）南与楚境，西与韩境，北与赵境，东与齐境。卒戍四方，守亭障者参列，粟粮漕庾不下十万。魏之地势，故战场也。魏南与楚而不与齐，则齐攻其东；东与齐而

【今译】

张仪为秦国推行连横的计策，游说魏王说：“魏国的土地方圆不到一千里，士卒不到三十万，地势四方都很平坦，与各个诸侯国相通，道路四通八达，而没有名山大川的天然险阻。从郑国到魏国，不超过一百里；从陈国到魏国，才二百多里；骑马奔驰或者步行，不用等到疲倦就能到达魏国。南边跟楚国接壤，西边跟韩国接壤，北边跟赵国接壤，东边跟齐国接壤，士卒戍卫四方边境，守卫边防堡垒的士兵分散排列，运送粮食的水路上，仓库不下十万个。魏国的地势，本来就是一个战场。魏国向南跟楚国联合而不结交齐国，齐国就会进攻它的东部；向东联合齐国而不结交赵国，赵国就会进攻它的北部；不跟韩国合作，韩国就会进



Majesty." The king of Wei said, "I am unworthy and haven't heard wise instructions before. Now that you have shown me the wise instructions of Zhao's king, I will lead my state to follow you."

Zhang Yi Persuaded Wei's King to Join Lianheng for the Sake of Qin

Zhang Yi advocated Lianheng for the state of Qin. He went to consult with Wei's king and said, "The territory of Wei is less than a thousand square *li* and it has less than three hundred thousand soldiers. The territory is even on all four sides. There are roads extending in all directions that reach other states. But there are no natural strategic obstacles such as dangerous mountains or deep rivers. The distance between the state of Zheng and our state is no more than one hundred *li*, and that between the state of Chen and our state is only a little more than two hundred *li*. Advancing on horseback or on foot, people from these two states can easily reach Wei even before they get tired. Wei is adjacent to the state of Chu in the south, to Han in the west, to Zhao in the north and to Qi in the east. You need to deploy troops to safeguard the borders on all four sides. There are around one hundred thousand granaries along the canals used to transport provender. The geographical situation of Wei is nothing but a natural battleground. If Wei unites with Chu in the south and ignores Qi, Qi will attack it from the east. If Wei unites with Qi in the east and ignores Zhao, Zhao will attack it from the



【原文】

不与赵，则赵攻其北；不合于韩，则韩攻其西；不亲于楚，则楚攻其南。此所谓四分五裂之道也。

“且夫诸侯之为从者，以安社稷、尊主、强兵、显名也。合从者，一天下，约为兄弟，刑白马以盟于洹水之上，以相坚也。夫亲昆弟同父母，尚有争钱财，而欲恃诈伪反覆苏秦之余谋，其不可以成亦明矣。大王不事秦，秦下兵攻河外，拔卷、衍、燕、酸枣，劫卫取（晋阳）[阳晋]，则赵不南。赵不南则魏不北，魏不北则从道绝，从道绝则大王之国欲求无危不可得也。秦挟韩而攻魏，韩劫于秦，不敢不听。秦、韩为一国，魏之亡可立而须也，此臣之所以为大王患也。为大王计，莫如事秦。事秦则楚、韩必

【今译】

攻它的西部；不跟楚国亲近，楚国就会进攻它的南部。这就是所谓的四分五裂之路啊。

“而且诸侯各国参与合纵的，是为了使国家巩固、君主尊贵、兵力强大、名声显赫。合纵就是联合天下各国，相约为兄弟国，杀白马，在洹水边上举行血祭，订立盟约，来互相坚定各自的决心。同父同母所生的亲兄弟之间尚且有因为钱财而产生的纷争，想凭借奸诈、虚伪、反复无常的苏秦的小小伎俩，合纵不可能成功也是很明显的了。大王不侍奉秦国，秦国就会派兵进攻河外地区，攻克卷、衍、燕、酸枣，劫持卫国夺取阳晋，那样赵国就不能派兵南下营救。赵国不能派兵南下救援，魏国就不能向北争取援助。魏国不能向北争取援助，合纵的道路就断绝了。合纵的道路断绝了，大王的国家想没有危险是不可能的。秦国挟持韩国进攻魏国，韩国受到秦国劫持，不敢不听从命令。秦国和韩国联合在一起，魏国的灭亡立刻就会到来，这是我为大王担忧的原因啊。为大王考虑，不如侍奉秦国。侍奉秦国，楚国和韩国就一定不敢轻举妄动。不存



north. If Wei doesn't consort with Han, Han will attack it from the west. If Wei doesn't hobnob with Chu, Chu will attack it from the south. These are policies that will lead to the disintegration of the state.

"Regarding other states' sovereigns' purpose of joining Hezong, they all want to safeguard their states, consolidate their power, strengthen their armies and gain a high reputation. People advocating Hezong want to unite with all the states of the world as brother states. They often kill a white horse during a blood sacrifice and make an agreement to solidify their confidence on the bank of the Huanshui River. Even brothers born to the same parents will vie with each other for lucre, not to mention those relying on the scheme of the deceitful, double-dealing and capricious Su Qin to practice Hezong. Obviously they will fail. If you don't consort with Qin, Qin will dispatch its troops to attack Hewai, occupy Juan, Yan, Yan, Suanzao, and coerce Wei into giving up Yangjin. Thus Zhao cannot send troops southwards to help you. If Zhao's troops cannot march southwards, Wei cannot ask the northern states for help. As a result, the path of Hezong will be cut off and therefore, it is inevitable that the state of Your Majesty will be in danger. If Qin coerces Han into attacking Wei, because of the threat from the powerful Qin, Han will dare not refuse to take its order. Thus Qin and Han will launch concerted military action against Wei, and therefore Wei will be defeated in no time. That's why I worry for you. For your sake, nothing could be better than submitting to Qin. Thus Chu and Han won't dare to assault



【原文】

不敢动。无楚、韩之患，则大王高枕而卧，国必无忧矣。

“且夫秦之所欲弱莫如楚，而能弱楚者莫如魏。楚虽有富大之名，其实空虚；其卒虽众多，（言）[然]而轻走易北，不敢坚战。[悉]魏之兵南面而伐，胜楚必矣。夫亏楚而益魏，攻楚而适秦，（内）嫁祸安国，此善事也。大王不听臣，秦甲出而东，虽欲事秦而不可得也。”且夫从人多奋辞而寡可信，说一诸侯之王，出而乘其车；约一国而反，成而封侯之基。是故天下之游士，莫不日夜搯腕、瞋目、切齿以言从之便，以说人主。人主览其词，牵其说，恶得无眩哉？臣闻积羽沉舟，群轻折轴，众口铄金，

【今译】

在楚国和韩国的祸患，大王就可以高枕而卧，国家也一定没有忧患了。

“再说，秦国最想削弱的国家就是楚国，而最能削弱楚国的国家就是魏国。楚国虽然名义上富足广大，实际上却很空虚；楚国的士卒虽然众多，然而他们却轻易地逃跑，容易败北，不敢打硬仗。魏国派出所有军队南下进攻，一定能战胜楚军。击溃楚国军队而增益魏国，攻打楚国而迎合秦国，把灾祸转嫁出去，使自己的国家得到平安，这是件好事啊。大王如果不听我的，秦国派出军队向东挺进，那时即便想侍奉秦国，也不可能了。

“况且主张合纵的人多数只是夸夸其谈而很少讲信用，游说一个国家的君主，出行就乘坐他的车子；跟一个国家缔约回来，就成就了自己被封侯的基础。因此天下的说客，没有哪一个不日日夜夜把着手腕、瞪大眼睛、咬牙切齿地谈论合纵的好处，来游说各国君主。君主们看到他们善于辞令，被他们的花言巧语所牵制，怎能不迷惑呢？我听说羽毛堆



your state. Without any threat that might be caused by Chu and Han, you will be safe and your state will be free from trouble.

"Moreover, among all the states, Qin wants to weaken Chu the most. And the only state that can cause the worst threat to Chu is your state. Nominally Chu is a huge and wealthy state. But in fact, it is poor and has no savings. Although it has numerous soldiers, they dare not confront enemy troops bravely, can be easily defeated and readily retreat. If Wei sends its troops southwards to attack Chu, you can definitely win the war. Thus you can weaken Chu and benefit your state. Attacking Chu is in accordance with the will of the state of Qin, and thus you can secure your state by transferring the trouble to Chu. This is a good plan. If you don't take my advice, the troops of Qin will march eastwards to launch military action against you. If this is the case, you won't be able to submit to Qin even though you might wish to do so.

"In addition, people advocating Hezong are usually engaged in pomposity and therefore are seldom truthful. After they persuade a sovereign, whenever they go out, they can take carriages presented by him. After they unite with a state, they are qualified to be entitled as marquises and conferred some land. Hence, all the persuasive talkers in the world are trying their best day and night to persuade the sovereigns to take their advice to join Hezong. Therefore, the sovereigns are easily confused by their bombast. I heard that if too many feathers are loaded on a boat, the boat will sink.



【原文】

故愿大王之熟计之也。”魏王曰：“寡人蠢愚，前计失之。请称东藩，筑帝宫，受冠带，祠春秋，效河外。”

【今译】

积多了也能让船沉没，分量很轻的东西载得多了也能压断车轴，众人异口同声也能让金属融化。所以希望大王详细地考虑这件事啊。”魏王说：“我很愚蠢，以前的策略是个失误。我请求自称秦国东部的属国，为秦王修筑行宫，接受秦王赏赐的朝服，缴纳春秋祭祀的贡赋，献出河外的土地。”

齐魏约而伐楚

【原文】

齐、魏约而伐楚，魏以董庆为质于齐。楚攻齐，大败之，而魏弗救。田婴怒，将杀董庆。盱夷为董庆谓田婴曰：“楚攻齐，大败之，而不敢深入者，以魏为将内之于齐而击其后。今杀董庆，是示楚无魏也。魏怒合

【今译】

齐国和魏国联合进攻楚国，魏国让董庆到齐国做人质。楚国进攻齐国，大大击败了齐军，但是魏国没有进行营救。田婴很恼怒，准备杀死董庆。盱夷为董庆对田婴说：“楚国进攻齐国，大大击败了它，然而却不敢深入齐国，以为魏国打算让楚军深入齐国内地而从后面袭击他们。如今杀了董庆，是向楚国表明跟魏国断绝了关系。魏国生气了，就会跟楚国联合，齐国一定会危险了。不如善待董庆，来跟魏国保持良好的关



If too many light things are loaded on a cart, the axis will break. If many people spread the same rumour, they can make others accept it as reality. So I hope that you will examine this." The king of Wei said, "I am very stupid and have made the big mistake of joining Hezong. Please allow me to consider my state as an eastern dependency of Qin. I will build a Xanadu for Qin's king on my territory, accept the robe and hat presented by him, provide sacrifice for the grand ceremonies held both in spring and in autumn and cede Hewai to him."

Qi and Wei Launched a Concerted Attack on Chu

The troops of the state of Qi and those of the state of Wei launched a concerted attack on the state of Chu. The state of Wei sent Dong Qing to the state of Qi as a hostage. The troops of Chu attacked the state of Qi and badly defeated it. However, the state of Wei didn't come to Qi's rescue. Tian Ying was angry, so he decided to kill Dong Qing. On behalf of Dong Qing, Gan Yi had a talk with Tian Ying and said, "The troops of Chu have attacked Qi and badly defeated it. However, they dare not go deeply into Qi's inland, because they fear that the state of Wei might wish Chu march further into the state of Qi, so that it can send troops to attack them in the rear. Now if you kill Dong Qing, it will show that you are cutting off ties with Wei. Thus Wei will be vexed and therefore ally with the state of Chu. As a result, the state of Qi will be in danger. It would be better if you



【原文】

于楚，齐必危矣。不如贵董庆以善魏，而疑之于楚也。”

【今译】

系，从而让楚国产生疑虑。”

苏秦拘于魏

【原文】

苏秦拘于魏，欲走而之韩，魏氏闭关而不通。齐使苏厉为之谓魏王曰：“齐请以宋地封泾阳君，而秦不受也。夫秦非不利有齐而得宋地也，然其所以不受者，不信齐王与苏秦也。今秦见齐、魏之不合也如此其甚也，则齐必不欺秦而秦信齐矣。齐、秦合而泾阳君有宋地，则非魏之利也。故王不如复东苏秦，秦必疑齐而不听也。夫齐、秦不合，天下无忧，伐齐成则地广矣。”

【今译】

苏秦被魏国拘留，想离开魏国到韩国去，魏国封锁边境关口，不让他出去。齐国派苏厉为苏秦对魏王说：“齐国请求把宋国的土地封给泾阳君，但是秦国却不接受，并非跟齐国建立良好关系、得到宋国的土地对秦国不利。然而秦国之所以不接受，是因为不信任齐王和苏秦。如今秦国看到齐国和魏国之间的关系这么不好，那齐国一定不会欺骗秦国，秦国就会相信齐国了。齐国和秦国交好，并且泾阳君拥有宋国的土地，对魏国是不利的。所以大王不如让苏秦前往东方，秦国一定会怀疑齐国而不听他的。齐国和秦国关系不好，天下就没有忧患了，讨伐齐国成功就能扩展领地了。”



honour Dong Qing and maintain good relations with Wei. Thus you will make the state of Chu confused."

Su Qin Was Arrested in Wei

Su Qin was detained by the state of Wei, but he wanted to be set free so that he could leave for the state of Han. However, the state of Wei closed its border passes and wouldn't let him pass through. On Su Qin's behalf, the state of Qi sent Su Li to Wei to consult with the king. Su Li said, "The state of Qi wishes to present the territory of the state of Song to Lord Jingyang. However, the state of Qin rejected its offer. It is not that the state of Qin won't benefit from establishing good relations with the state of Qi and obtain the territory of Song. Nevertheless, it still refuses to accept it, because it doesn't trust the king of the state of Qi and Su Qin. Now if Qin realizes that the relations between Qi and Wei are very bad, it will know that Qi won't deceive it, and therefore, it will trust Qi. If Qi and Qin establish good relations with each other, and Lord Jingyang gains the territory of Song, it is disadvantageous to Wei. Hence, you'd better allow Su Qin to go back to the east. Then Qin will definitely have doubts of the state of Qi and refuse to take Qi's advice. If Qi and Qin don't ally with each other, the whole world will be free from trouble. If you succeed in invading Qi, you can enlarge your territory."



陈轸为秦使于齐

【原文】

陈轸为秦使于齐，过魏，求见犀首，犀首谢陈轸。陈轸曰：“轸之所以来者，事也。公不见轸，轸且行，不得待异日矣。”犀首乃见之。陈轸曰：“公恶事乎？何为饮食而无事？无事必来。”犀首曰：“衍不肖，不能得事焉，何敢恶事？”陈轸曰：“请移天下之事于公。”犀首曰：“奈何？”陈轸曰：“魏王使李从以车百乘使于楚，公可以居其中而疑之。公谓魏王曰：‘臣与燕、赵故矣，数令人召臣也，曰无事必来。今臣无事，请谒而往。无久，旬五之期。’王必无辞以止公。公得行，因自言于廷曰：‘臣急

【今译】

陈轸为秦国出使齐国，路过魏国，请求拜见公孙衍，公孙衍拒绝了陈轸。陈轸说：“我之所以来到这里，是因为有要事。您不见我，我就出发了，不能等别的时间了。”公孙衍才见了。陈轸说：“您讨厌处理政事吗？为什么吃吃喝喝而不处理政事呢？”公孙衍说：“我不肖，不能得到处理政事的机会啊，怎敢讨厌处理政事！”陈轸说：“请把天下大事转交给您。”公孙衍问：“怎么办？”陈轸说：“魏王派李从率领一百辆车子出使楚国，您可以干预这件事，从而让楚国起疑心。您对魏王说：‘我跟燕王和赵王是老朋友了。他们几次派人来跟我说没有事的时候一定要到他们那里去。如今我没有什么事情做，请求到他们那里去一趟。不要多久，就十五天的时间。’大王一定没有什么借口阻止您。您得以前往，



Chen Zhen Left for Qin on a Diplomatic Mission on Behalf of Qi

Chen Zhen left for the state of Qin on a diplomatic mission. When he passed through the state of Wei, he wanted to pay a visit to Gongsun Yan. However, Gongsun Yan refused to see him. Chen Zhen said, "I came here because I wanted to tell you something important. If you don't want to see me, I am leaving and won't wait any longer." So Gongsun Yan agreed to meet him. Chen Zhen said, "Do you hate handling government affairs? Why are you addicted to food and drink but ignore government affairs?" Gongsun Yan said, "I am unworthy, and therefore don't have the chance to handle government affairs. How dare I hate handling them?" Chen Zhen said, "Please let me devolve important affairs of the world on you." Gongsun Yan asked, "How can you do that?" Chen Zhen said, "The king of your state is about to send Li Cong to lead a hundred carriages to visit the state of Chu on a diplomatic mission. You can intervene it and make the state of Chu have doubts of Wei. Just tell the king of Wei as follows: 'The sovereigns of the state of Yan and the state of Zhao are my old friends. They have sent people here to invite me to visit them several times and told me that I could pay a visit to them when I was free. Now that I am free, I beg your permission to pay a visit to them. It won't take long. I only need about fifteen days.' For sure, His Majesty won't have any excuse to stop you. If you are permitted to go there, you can relate the following



【原文】

使燕、赵，急约车为行具。”犀首曰：“诺。”谒魏王，王许之，即明言使燕、赵。

诸侯客闻之，皆使人告其王曰：“李从以车百乘使楚，犀首又以车三十乘使燕、赵。”齐王闻之，恐后天下得魏，以事属犀首，犀首受齐事。魏王止其行使。燕、赵闻之，亦以事属犀首。楚王闻之，曰：“李从约寡人，今燕、齐、赵皆以事因犀首，犀首必欲寡人，寡人欲之。”乃倍李从而以事因犀首。魏王曰：“所以不使犀首者，以为不可。令四国属以事，寡人亦

【今译】

就自己在朝廷上扬言说：‘我有急事出使燕国和赵国。赶快为我准备车子和行李。’”公孙衍说：“好的。”他谒见魏王，魏王同意了，随即他明确宣布要出使燕国和赵国。

各国诸侯派来的人听说了这件事，都派人禀报他们的君主说：“李从率领一百辆车子出使楚国，公孙衍又率领三十辆车子出使燕国和赵国。”齐王听说了此事，担心跟魏国的交情会落在别国后面，就把国事托付给公孙衍，公孙衍接受了齐国的政事。魏王阻止公孙衍出使。燕国和赵国听说了此事，也把国事交给公孙衍处理。楚王听说了此事，说：“李从跟我约好要来出使，如今燕国、齐国和赵国都把国家大事托付给了公孙衍，公孙衍一定希望我也这么做，我想把国事委托给他。”于是就背弃了李从，把国家大事交给了公孙衍。魏王说：“我之所以没有任用公孙衍，是认为他没有才干。如今其他四个国家把政事交付给他处理，我也要把国家大事交给他了。”于是公孙衍执掌天下大事，又做了魏国



message at court: "I am on an urgent diplomatic mission to the state of Yan and the state of Zhao. Please prepare carriages and luggage for me immediately." Gongsun Yan said, "I will do that." He went to see the king of Wei and told him about it, and the king agreed. Then he openly declared that he was about to go to Yan and Zhao.

When the guests from the other states heard of this, they all sent messengers to report this to their sovereigns and said, "Li Cong is going to lead a hundred carriages to visit the state of Chu, and Gongsun Yan is also about to lead thirty carriages to visit the states of Yan and Zhao on diplomatic missions." When the king of the state of Qi heard of this, he feared that he might delay in winning over the state of Wei, so he entrusted Gongsun Yan with government affairs, and Gongsun Yan accepted. The king of Wei cancelled Gongsun Yan's trip to Yan and Zhao. When Yan and Zhao heard of this, they both entrusted Gongsun Yan with government affairs. When the king of the state of Chu heard of this, he said, "I have already made an appointment with Li Cong. Now Yan, Qi and Zhao have all entrusted Gongsun Yan with government affairs. Gongsun Yan must also want me to do the same. I will do so." He then broke the agreement with Li Cong and entrusted Gongsun Yan with government affairs. The king of Wei said, "The reason that I haven't appointed Gongsun Yan to any important post is that I used to think that he was incapable. Now that those four states have all entrusted him with government affairs, I will do the same." As a result, Gongsun Yan was in charge of important affairs



【原文】

以事因焉。”犀首遂主天下之事，复相魏。

【今译】

的相国。

张仪恶陈轸于魏王

【原文】

张仪恶陈轸于魏王，曰：“轸善事楚，为求壤地也，甚力之。”左华谓陈轸曰：“仪善于魏王，魏王甚爱之。公虽百说之，犹不听也。公不如[以]仪之言为资，而反于楚王。”陈轸曰：“善。”因使人先言于楚王。

【今译】

张仪在魏王面前败坏陈轸，说：“陈轸对楚国非常好，十分卖力地为楚国争取土地。”左华对陈轸说：“张仪跟魏王的关系好，魏王非常喜欢他。您即便一百次进言，也不会被听从的。您不如凭借着张仪的话回到楚王那里去。”陈轸说：“好的。”于是派人先把张仪的话告诉了楚王。

张仪欲穷陈轸

【原文】

张仪欲穷陈轸，令魏王召而相之，来将悟之。将行，其子陈应止其公之行，曰：“物之湛者，不可不察也。郑强出秦曰，应为知。夫魏欲绝

【今译】

张仪想让陈轸陷入困境，让魏王召他来做相国，来到后就将把他囚禁起来。陈轸将要出发，他的儿子陈应阻止自己父亲的行程，说：“事情深不可测，不可以不明察。郑强从秦国来，说我是明智的。魏国想让楚



all over the world and was appointed as prime minister of the state of Wei.

Zhang Yi Spoke Ill of Chen Zhen Before Wei's King

Zhang Yi spoke ill of Chen Zhen in front of the king of the state of Wei and said, "Chen Zhen is very close to the state of Chu. Therefore, he always tries his best to gain territory for Chu." Zuo Hua said to Chen Zhen, "Zhang Yi is close to the king of the state of Wei, and the king cherishes him very much. Although you might consult with him a hundred times, the king won't take your advice. It would be better if you use this statement of Zhang Yi to win over the king of the state of Chu again." Chen Zhen said, "Good." Then he sent someone to inform the king of Chu about this.

Zhang Yi Wanted to Make Trouble for Chen Zhen

Zhang Yi wanted to make trouble for Chen Zhen, so he asked the king of the state of Wei to call for Chen Zhen under the excuse that the king was about to appoint Chen Zhen as prime minister. He planned to put Chen Zhen in prison when he arrived. When Chen Zhen was about to leave for Wei, Chen Ying, his son, stopped him and said, "Things are too complicated to predict. We should study them. Zheng Qiang once came here from the state of Qin and said that I was provident in this regard. The people of the state of Wei want to damage the relations between the state of Chu and the state



【原文】

楚、齐，必重迎公。郢中不善公者，欲公之去也，必劝王多公之车。公至宋，道称疾而毋行，使人谓齐王曰：“魏之所以迎我者，欲以绝齐、楚也。”

齐王曰：“子果无之魏而见寡人也，请封子。”因以鲁侯之车迎之。

【今译】

国跟齐国断绝关系，定会隆重地迎接您。郢都中对您不好的人希望您离开，必定会劝大王多让您带一些车子出使。您行经宋国的时候，在路上声称生病不去了，派人对齐王说：“魏国之所以让我去它那里，是想断绝齐国和楚国的关系。”齐王说：“您果然不到魏国去而来见我，我会封赏您。”于是用鲁国国君的车子迎接他。

张仪走之魏

【原文】

张仪走之魏，魏将迎之。张丑谏于王，欲勿内，不得于王。张丑退，复谏于王，曰：“王亦闻老妾事其主（妇）[父]者乎？子长色衰，重家而已。今臣之事王，若老妾之事其主（妇）[父]者。”魏王因不纳张仪。

【今译】

张仪出逃到魏国，魏国准备迎接他。张丑向魏王进谏，想不接纳张仪，没有征得魏王同意。张丑退下，再次进谏魏王说：“大王也听说过年老的女仆侍奉她主人的故事吗？孩子长大了，容貌衰退了，就卖到别的人家算了。如今我侍奉大王，跟年老的女仆侍奉主人是一样的。”于是魏王没有接纳张仪。



of Qi, so they would welcome you. Those hostile towards you in the capital of Ying (referring to the capital of the state of Chu) want to get rid of you. So they will persuade the king of Chu to present you with more carriages for this trip. After you arrive in the state of Song, you can pretend to be ill and therefore refuse to go further. Then you can send someone to present a message to the king of the state of Qi as follows: 'The reason why the state of Wei welcomes me lies in the fact that it wants to make Qi and Chu cut off ties with each other.' The king of Qi said, "As expected, you refused to go to Wei but came to see me instead. I will reward you." Then he welcomed Chen Zhen with the carriage of the sovereign of the state of Lu.

Zhang Yi Fled to Wei

Zhang Yi fled to the state of Wei and Wei planned to welcome him. In order to prevent Zhang Yi from entering Wei, Zhang Chou remonstrated with the king of Wei, but the king refused to take his advice. Zhang Chou retreated but once again remonstrated with the king and said, "Your Majesty, have you heard of the story of an old maid serving her master? After the host's children grew up and the maid herself was no longer pretty due to her old age, she would be sold to another family. My reason for serving you is the same as the old maid serving her master." So, the king of Wei didn't accept Zhang Yi.



张仪欲以魏合于秦韩

【原文】

张仪欲以魏合于秦、韩而攻齐、楚，惠施欲以魏合于齐、楚以案兵。人多为张子于王所。惠子谓王曰：“小事也，谓可者、谓不可者正半，况大事乎？以魏合于秦、韩而攻齐、楚，大事也，而王之群臣皆以为可。不知是其可也，如是其明耶？而群臣之知术也如是其同耶？是其可也，未若是其明也，而群臣之知术也，又非皆同也，是其有半塞也。所谓劫主者，失其半者也。”

【今译】

张仪想让魏国跟秦国和韩国联合起来进攻齐国和楚国。惠施想让魏国与齐国和楚国联合来阻止战争。很多人到魏王那里帮张仪说话。惠施对魏王说：“对于一些小事，说可以和说不可以的正好对半，何况大事呢？让魏国跟秦国和韩国联合起来进攻齐国和楚国，是件大事，然而大王的大臣们却都说可以。不知道那些认为这么做可以的人是如此明察，还是群臣的智谋策略都如此相同？那些认为可以这么做的人未必如此明察，而且群臣的智谋策略也不会完全相同。这表明有半数的意见还没有被听到。所谓胁迫君主，就是不让他听到另一半的意见。”



Zhang Yi Wanted to Unite Wei with Qin and Han

Zhang Yi wanted the state of Wei to ally with the state of Qin and the state of Han to attack the state of Qi and the state of Chu. Hui Shi hoped that Wei could build an alliance with Qi and Chu and thus prevent the military action. Many court officials expressed their support for Zhang Yi in front of the king of Wei. Hui Shi had a talk with the king of Wei and said, "Regarding insignificant matters, the ratio of those for and against them is usually one to one. It goes without saying what will happen when it comes to a big decision. Building up an alliance with Qin and Han to attack Qi and Chu is a big issue. However, all the court officials agree to it. I don't know whether or not they are all crystal-clear that we should take this action, or whether the intelligence and strategy of all the court officials are exactly the same in this regard. As for those who agree to it, I don't think they are all crystal-clear about the situation. And our court officials don't exactly share the same intelligence and strategy in this case either. You couldn't have heard the voice of the other half. The so-called 'sovereigns being coerced' refers to those who cannot hear the opposite opinion of the other half of their people."



张(子)仪以秦相魏

【原文】

张(子)仪以秦相魏,齐、楚怒而欲攻魏。雍沮谓张子曰:“魏之所以相公者,以公相则国家安而百姓无患。今公相而魏受兵,是魏计过也。齐、楚攻魏,公必危矣。”张子曰:“然则奈何?”雍沮曰:“请令齐、楚解攻。”雍沮谓齐、楚之君曰:“王亦闻张仪之约秦王乎?曰:‘王若相仪于魏,齐、楚恶仪,必攻魏。魏战而胜,是齐、楚之兵折,而仪固得魏矣。若不胜魏,魏必事秦以持其国,必割地以赂王。若欲复攻,其敝不足以应秦。’此仪之所以与秦王阴相结也。今仪相魏而攻之,是使仪之计当于

【今译】

张仪凭借着秦国的力量做了魏国的相国,齐国和楚国愤怒了,想进攻魏国。雍沮对张仪说:“魏国之所以任用您做相国,因为您做了相国,国家就会安定,并且百姓没有忧患。如今您做了相国,魏国却遭到了进攻,这说明魏国的策略是错误的。齐国和楚国进攻魏国,您一定会有危险的。”张仪说:“既然如此,该怎么办呢?”雍沮说:“我让齐国和楚国放弃进攻。”雍沮对齐国和楚国的君主说:“大王也听说过张仪和秦王之间的约定吗?他说:‘大王如果让我做上魏国的相国,齐国和楚国讨厌我,一定会进攻魏国。如果魏国战胜了,齐国和楚国的军队就会被挫败,张仪在魏国的地位就稳固了。如果不能取胜,魏国一定会侍奉秦国来保全自己的国家,一定会割让土地来贿赂大王。如果想重新进攻他们,他们筋疲力尽的士卒不足以对抗秦军。’这是张仪暗中跟秦王约好的。如今张仪做了魏国相国就进攻魏国,就会使得张仪的计策在秦国得到应



Zhang Yi Was Appointed to be Prime Minister of Wei Under the Influence of Qin

Under the influence of the might of the state of Qin, Zhang Yi was appointed to be prime minister of the state of Wei. The state of Qi and the state of Chu were angry at this and therefore planned to attack Wei. Yong Ju told Zhang Yi, "The reason that the state of Wei has appointed you to be prime minister lies in the assumption that if you serve as prime minister, the state will be safe and the people will be free from trouble. Now you have been appointed to be prime minister, but Wei is under threat of aggression. It shows that Wei has made a wrong decision. If Qi and Chu attack Wei, you will find yourself in danger." Zhang Yi asked, "What shall I do then?" Yong Ju said, "Please let me ask Qi and Chu to cease their military action." Yong Ju had a talk with the sovereigns of Qi and Chu and said, "Have you heard of the agreement Zhang Yi made with the king of the state of Qin? It states, 'If Your Majesty helps me become prime minister of Wei, Qi and Chu will attack Wei because they both dislike me. If Wei wins the war, the troops of Qi and Chu will be defeated, and therefore my power in the state of Wei will be consolidated. If Wei loses the war, it will ask Qin for help. As a result, it will cede some land to bribe you. If you attack Qi and Chu again under such circumstances, their exhausted officers and men won't be able to resist you.' This is the agreement Zhang Yi made secretly with the king of Qin. Now if you attack Wei after Zhang Yi has become its prime



【原文】

秦也，非所以穷仪之道也。”齐、楚之王曰：“善。”乃遽解攻于魏。

【今译】

验了，不是能让张仪陷入困境的办法啊。”齐国和楚国的君主说：“好。”于是立即停止进攻魏国。

张仪欲并相秦魏

【原文】

张仪欲并相秦、魏，故谓魏王曰：“仪请以秦攻三川，王以其间约南阳，韩氏[必]亡。”史厌谓（赵）[昭]献曰：“公何不以楚佐仪求相之于魏？韩恐亡，必南走楚。仪兼相秦、魏，则公亦必并相楚、韩也。”

【今译】

张仪想同时做秦国和魏国的相国，所以对魏王说：“我请求让秦国进攻三川，大王趁此机会进攻南阳，韩国必定会灭亡。”史厌对昭献说：“您何不凭借着楚国的势力，帮助张仪请求魏国任用他为相国？韩国担心会灭亡，一定会向南投奔楚国。张仪同时做秦国和魏国的相国，那您也就同时做上楚国和韩国的相国了。”

魏王将相张仪

【原文】

魏王将相张仪。犀首弗利，故令人谓韩公叔曰：“张仪以合秦、魏

【今译】

魏王将要任用张仪做相国。公孙衍认为这对自己不利，所以派人对韩国的公叔说：“张仪已经把秦国和韩国联合起来了。他说：‘魏国进



minister, Zhang Yi's scheme with Qin will become reality. This is not the right way to get Zhang Yi into trouble." The sovereigns of Qi and Chu said, "We see." Then they immediately ceased the military action against Wei.

Zhang Yi Wanted to Become Prime Minister of Both Qin and Wei

Zhang Yi wanted to become prime minister of both the state of Qin and the state of Wei. So he told the king of Wei, "I will ask the state of Qin to attack Sanchuan, and then you can take occasion to attack Nanyang. Then the state of Han will be ruined." Shi Yan told Zhao Xian, "Why not ask the state of Wei to appoint Zhang Yi to be its prime minister through the influence of the state of Chu? Han will be afraid that it may be defeated, so it will definitely submit to your state in the south. If Zhang Yi becomes prime minister of both the state of Qin and the state of Wei, you will become prime minister of both the state of Chu and the state of Han."

Wei's King Was About to Appoint Zhang Yi as Prime Minister

The king of the state of Wei was about to appoint Zhang Yi as prime minister of his state. Gongsun Yan thought that would be disadvantageous to himself, so he sent someone to have a talk with Gongshu of the state of Han. The man said, "Zhang Yi has already united the state of Qin with the state of



【原文】

矣。其言曰：‘魏攻南阳，秦攻三川，韩氏必亡。’且魏王所以贵张子者，欲得地，则韩之南阳举矣。子盍少委焉以为衍功，则秦、魏之交可废矣。如此，则魏必图秦而弃仪，收韩而相衍。”公叔以为信，因而委之。犀首以为功，果相魏。

【今译】

攻南阳，秦国进攻三川，韩国必定会灭亡了。’而且魏王之所以重用张仪，是想得到土地，那韩国的南阳就会被攻克了。您何不稍微委托一些政事给我，算作我的功劳，那秦国和魏国的交情就可以断绝了。如果是这样，魏国就一定会图谋秦国并且背弃张仪，拉拢韩国而且任用我为相国。”公叔认为这么做是有利的，于是委托给他一些政务。公孙衍把这作为自己的功劳，果然做了魏国的相国。

楚许魏六城

【原文】

楚许魏六城，与之伐齐而存燕。张仪欲败之，谓魏王曰：“齐畏三国之合也，必反燕地以下楚，楚、赵必听之，而不与魏六城。是王失谋于

【今译】

楚国许诺送给魏国六座城邑，跟它一起攻打齐国，从而保全燕国。张仪想败坏这件事，对魏王说：“齐国害怕楚、赵、魏三国会联合起来，就一定会归还从燕国侵占的土地来向楚国屈服，楚国和赵国就一定会听从齐国，而不把六座城邑给魏国。这样一来，大王的谋略就会在楚国和



Wei. He said, 'If Wei attacks Nanyang and Qin attacks Sanchuan, the state of Han will definitely be destroyed.' The reason why the king of the state of Wei attaches importance to Zhang Yi lies in the fact that he wants to obtain some territory. Thus Nanyang of the state of Han will be occupied. Why not entrust me with some government affairs and consider these to be my contribution. Then the good relations between Qin and Wei will be terminated. If this is the case, Wei will scheme against Qin and discard Zhang Yi, and also establish good relations with Han and appoint me to be its prime minister." Gongshu thought this was good for his state, so he entrusted Gongsun Yan with some government affairs. Gongsun Yan regarded these as his own contribution and therefore he was appointed to be prime minister of Wei as expected.

Chu Promised to Cede Six Cities to Wei I

In order to unite with the state of Wei I to attack the state of Qi as well as re-establish the state of Yan, the state of Chu promised to cede six cities to Wei I. Zhang Yi planned to thwart this plan, so he had a talk with the king of Wei I and said, "The state of Qi fears that Chu, Zhao and Wei may build an alliance, so it will definitely return the land taken from Yan and submit to Chu. If this is the case, Chu and Zhao will certainly take Qi's advice, and therefore, Chu will refuse to cede those six cities to us. Thus not only will your plans not be carried out by Chu and Zhao, but you will



【原文】

楚、赵，而树怨而于齐、秦也。齐遂伐赵，取乘丘，收侵地，虚、顿丘危。楚破南阳、九夷，内沛，许、鄢陵危。王之所得者新观也，而道涂宋、卫为制，事败为赵驱，事成功县宋、卫。”魏王弗听也。

【今译】

赵国落空，而且会跟齐国和秦国结怨。于是齐国会进攻赵国，占领乘丘，收复被赵国侵占的土地，虚和顿丘就危险了。楚军会攻破南阳、九夷，进入沛地，许和鄢陵就危险了。大王所得到的是新观，而且要途经宋国和卫国。事情失败了，就会被赵国操纵；事情成功了，也要取决于宋国和卫国。”魏王没有听从。

张仪告公仲

【原文】

张仪告公仲，令以饥故，赏韩王以近河外。魏王惧，问张子。张子曰：“秦欲救齐，韩欲攻南阳，秦、韩合而欲攻南阳，无异也。且以遇卜王，王不遇秦，韩之卜也决矣。”魏王遂尚遇秦信韩，广魏救赵，尺楚人遽

【今译】

张仪告诉公仲，让他以饥荒为借口，劝说韩王把百姓迁移到靠近河外的地区。魏王害怕了，向张仪询问对策。张仪说：“秦国想营救齐国，韩国想进攻南阳，秦国和韩国联合起来，打算攻打南阳，这是没有疑问的。它们将要根据大王是否跟它们联合来判断大王的態度，大王不跟秦国联合，韩国的推测就成立了。”于是魏王就跟秦国联合，争取韩国的信任，扩展魏国的土地，营救赵国，在草下斥责楚国的使者。于是攻打



also be at enmity with Qi and Qin. As a result, Qi will invade Zhao to seize Chengqiu and reoccupy its former territory taken over by Zhao. Accordingly, Xu and Dunqiu will be in danger. Chu will conquer Nanyang and Jiuyi and enter the region of Pei. Accordingly, Xu and Yanling will be in danger. The place you may obtain is Xinguan. However, in order to reach it, you must cross the territory of Song and Wei II. If you fail to obtain that place, the state of Zhao will take control over you. Even if you succeed, whether or not can really control this area is still dependent on the attitude of Song and Wei II." The king of Wei I didn't take his advice.

Zhang Yi Instructed Gongzhong

Due to the famine in the state of Han, Zhang Yi instructed Gongzhong to persuade the king of Han to move some people to the nearby Hewai. The king of the state of Wei was frightened, so he asked Zhang Yi for instructions. Zhang Yi said, "The state of Qin wants to assist the state of Qi, and the state of Han wants to attack Nanyang. It is beyond question that Qin and Han will unite with each other and launch a concerted attack on Nanyang. They will judge Your Majesty's attitude by whether or not you are going to join them. If You don't join Qin, Han's presumption will be verified." The king of Wei then united with the state of Qin, won over the state of Han, enlarged the territory of the state of Wei, rescued the state of Zhao, and condemned the emissary from the state of Chu in Beixia. In the end, the plan



【原文】

于革下。伐齐之事遂败。

【今译】

齐国一事失败了。

徐州之役

【原文】

徐州之役，犀首谓梁王曰：“何不阳与齐而阴结于楚？二国恃王，齐、楚必战。齐战胜楚，而与乘之，必取方城之外；楚战胜齐（败），而与乘之，是太子之仇报矣。”

【今译】

徐州战役中，公孙衍对魏王说：“为何不表面上假装跟齐国交好而暗地里结交楚国呢？齐国和楚国倚仗大王的支持，必定会开战。如果齐国战胜了楚国，就跟它一起掠夺楚国，一定能取得方城以外的地区；如果楚国取胜而齐国失败了，就跟它一起掠夺齐国，这样一来，就能为太子报仇了。”

秦败东周

【原文】

秦败东周，与魏战于伊阙，杀犀武，[乘胜而留于境]。魏令公孙衍（乘胜而留于境）请卑辞割地以讲于秦。为窦屡谓魏王曰：“臣不知衍之所以听于秦之少多，然而臣能半衍之割而令秦讲于王。”王曰：“奈何？”对曰：“王不若与窦屡关内侯，而令赵。王重其行而厚奉之。因扬言曰：

【今译】

秦国军队打败了东周，跟魏军在伊阙交战，杀死了犀武。秦军乘胜进驻魏国境内，魏国让公孙衍用谦卑的辞令请求割让土地来跟秦国讲和。有人为窦屡对魏王说：“我不知道公孙衍会在多大程度上听从秦国，然而我能让公孙衍少割让一半土地并且使得秦国跟大王讲和。”魏王说：“怎么做？”那人回答说：“大王不如封窦屡为关内侯，并且派他到



for attacking the state of Qi resulted in failure.

The War in Xuzhou

During the war in Xuzhou, Gongsun Yan had a talk with the king of the state of Wei and said, "Why not ally with the state of Qi superficially, but secretly establish good relations with the state of Chu at the same time? If they both think they have won over your support, Qi and Chu will engage in a war. If Qi defeats Chu, we can join it in overrunning Chu, so we can definitely seize the areas around Fangcheng. If Chu defeats Qi, we can join it in invading Qi, thus we can take revenge for our crown prince."

Qin Defeated East Zhou

The troops of the state of Qin defeated those of East Zhou. Then they engaged the troops of the state of Wei in Yique, and killed Xi Wu. After that, they garrisoned Wei. Wei ordered Gongsun Yan to cede some territory to Qin and humbly beg it for peace talks. On behalf of Dou Lü, someone had a talk with the king of Wei and said, "I don't know to what extent Gongsun Yan will follow the orders of the state of Qin. However, I can let Qin agree to make peace with you at the cost of only a half of the land offered by Gongsun Yan." The king asked, "How can you do that?" The man replied, "It would be better if Your Majesty appoint Dou Lü to be Marquis of Guannei, and send him to the state of Zhao

【原文】

‘闻周、魏令蹇屡以割魏于奉阳君而听秦矣。’夫周君、蹇屡、奉阳君之与穰侯，贸首之仇也。今行和者，蹇屡也；制割者，奉阳君也。太后恐其不因穰侯也，而欲败之，必以少割请合于王，而和于东周与魏也。”

【今译】

赵国去。大王重视他的出使，并且给他丰厚的礼金。于是扬言道：“听说东周和魏国命令蹇屡割让魏国的土地给奉阳君并且听从秦国吩咐。”东周国君、蹇屡和奉阳君跟穰侯是不共戴天的仇人。如今主持议和的是蹇屡，操纵割地的是奉阳君。秦太后担心他们不顺应穰侯，就会想破坏此事，必定会同意少割取土地就跟大王交好，并且跟东周和魏国讲和。”

齐王将见燕赵楚之相于卫

【原文】

齐王将见燕、赵、楚之相于卫，约外魏。魏王惧，恐其谋伐魏也，告公孙衍。公孙衍曰：“王与臣百金，臣请败之。”王为约车，载百金。犀首期齐王至之（曰）[日]，先以车五十乘至卫，间齐行以百金，以请先见齐

【今译】

齐王将要到卫国会见燕国、赵国和楚国的相国，跟他们相约孤立魏国。魏王害怕了，担心他们会图谋攻打魏国，就告诉了公孙衍。公孙衍说：“大王给我一百镒黄金，让我败坏这件事。”魏王为他准备了车子，装载着一百镒黄金。在公孙衍预料齐王到达卫国的那天，他先带着五十辆车子来到卫国，用一百镒黄金收买了齐国的使者，来请求先见齐王。



on a diplomatic mission. Attach importance to his journey to Zhao and also provide him generous money. Then you can declare as follows: 'I heard that both East Zhou and Wei are about to ask Dou Lü to cede some of Wei's territory to Lord Fengyang as well as follow the orders of the state of Qin.' The sovereign of East Zhou, Dou Lü and Lord Fengyang are irreconcilable enemies of Marquis Rang. Now Dou Lü is the one in charge of the peace talks with Qin, and it's up to Lord Fengyang how much land should be ceded. The queen mother of Qin will fear that these people might act against Marquis Rang, so she will thwart this plan, and therefore will demand less land from you and agree to make peace with East Zhou and your state."

Qi's King Was About to Meet the Prime Ministers of Yan, Zhao and Chu in Wei II

The king of the state of Qi was going to meet the prime ministers of Yan, Zhao and Chu in the state of Wei II to make an agreement with them to isolate the state of Wei I. The king of Wei I was frightened and feared that they might unite with each other to invade his state. So he told Gongsun Yan about it. Gongsun Yan said, "Your Majesty, if you give me one hundred *yi* of gold, I can destroy their scheme against you." The king then had carriages prepared for him and also provided him one hundred *yi* of gold. On the day Gongsun Yan thought that the king of Qi might arrive in Wei II, he went there first with fifty carriages and bought off the

【原文】

王。乃得见，因久坐，安从容谈三国之相怨。

谓齐王曰：“王与三国约外魏，魏使公孙衍来，今久与之谈，是王谋三国也（也）[已]。”齐王曰：“魏王闻寡人来，使公孙子劳寡人，寡人无与之语也。”三国之（不）相[不]信齐王之（遇）[语]，遇事遂败。

【今译】

于是得以面见，坐了很长时间，从容不迫地谈论起燕、赵、楚三国之间的恩怨。

有人对齐王说：“大王跟三个国家相约孤立魏国，魏国派公孙衍来到这里。今天跟他交谈了很长时间，这是大王图谋三个国家啊。”齐王说：“魏王听说我来了，派公孙先生来慰问我，我没跟他说什么。”三个国家不相信齐王的话，会晤一事终归失败。

魏令公孙衍请和于秦

【原文】

魏令公孙衍请和于秦，綦毋恢教之语曰：“无多割。曰，和成，固有秦重和，以与王遇；和不成，则后必莫能以魏合于秦者矣。”

【今译】

魏国让公孙衍请求跟秦国和解，綦毋恢指点他说：“不要割让太多土地。和谈成功，秦王定会重视我们，会跟我们大王会晤；和谈不成功，那以后一定没有人能使魏国跟秦国联合了。”

公孙衍为魏将

【原文】

公孙衍为魏将，与其相田需不善。季子为衍谓梁王曰：“王独不见

【今译】

公孙衍做魏国的将军，跟魏国的相国田需关系不好。季子为公孙





messenger from Qi with the one hundred *yi* of gold he carried. Then he begged to meet the king of Qi first and gained the permission. So he sat there leisurely for a long time discussing the enmity between Yan, Zhao and Chu with the king.

Someone told the king of Qi, "You have made an agreement with those three states to isolate the state of Wei [, but Wei [has sent Gongsun Yan here. Today you have taken a long time talking with him. It shows that you are going to conspire against those three states." The king of Qi said, "The king of Wei [heard that I was coming here, so he has sent Mr Gongsun here to greet me. I didn't talk about anything important with him." Those three states didn't believe these words of the king of Qi, so, in the end, his plan resulted in failure.

Wei Ordered Gongsun Yan to Make Peace with Qin

The state of Wei ordered Gongsun Yan to seek the chance to make peace with the state of Qin. Qiwu Hui consulted with Gongsun Yan and said, "Don't cede too much land to Qin. If you can reach a ceasefire with Qin, Qin will attach importance to our state and therefore agree to meet our sovereign. If you fail, no one else will succeed in making Qin and Wei build an alliance with each other in the future."

Gongsun Yan Served as Commander-in-Chief of Wei

Gongsun Yan served as Commander-in-Chief of the state



【原文】

夫服牛骖骥乎？不可以行百步。今王以衍为可使将，故用之也。而听相之计，是服牛骖骥也。牛马俱死，而不能成其功，王之国必伤矣！愿王察之。”

【今译】

衍对魏王说：“大王难道没有看到用牛拉车、用骥拉套的情形吗？连一百步也走不了。如今大王认为公孙衍可以做大将，所以任用他，然而却听从相国的计策，这就是用牛拉车、用骥拉套啊。即使牛和马都精疲力竭，也不能成功，大王的国家必定要受到损伤了。希望大王明察。”

of Wei, but he was at odds with Prime Minister Tian Xu. On behalf of Gongsun Yan, Jizi had a talk with the king of Wei and said, "Your Majesty, haven't you seen people use cows in the middle but harness swift horses on the sides to pull a cart? The cart cannot be pulled a hundred bu. Now you consider Gongsun Yan talented enough for serving as Commander-in-Chief, so you have appointed him. However, you follow the prime minister's tactics. This is like using cows in the middle and harnessing swift horses on the sides to pull a cart. Both the cows and swift horses will lose their lives, and you will not reach your destination at all. Thus your state will be in danger. I hope that you consider this."

